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MYSORE AND THE DECLINE OF THE VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE.

(*A Paper read before the Society.*)

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The Position of the Mysore Territory under Vijayanagar.

THE present-day State of Mysore is a product of the nineteenth century and came into existence as a political entity with the fall of Seringapatam and the treaty that immediately followed, concluding the war; but the whole of this block of territory was included in the empire of the Hoysalas in their best days and continued to be under them to the last days of the existence of that dynasty. Hoysala Somēśvara's boundary reached as far south as Trichinopoly and extended northwards to Pandharpur. Under his successors the northern frontier remained the same and the southern frontier stretched southwards at one time to include the whole of the state of Pudukottah and even parts of the Ramnad district. This largest southern extension was attained while the war against the Muhammadan Sultans of Madura was still in progress.* When, as a result of the national war of the Hindus against Muhammadan occupation of the south, Vijayanagar came into existence, rising phoenix-like from the ashes of the empire of the Hoysalas, the block of territory under consideration was distributed among four governments which took in the whole of this block and parts of many other frontier territories besides. These were the four viceroyalties with their headquarters at Āraga,

* See my '*South India and her Muhammadan Invaders*', ch. vi.

Hosapaṭṭaṇa-Haḷebīḍ, Muḷbāgal and Penugoṇḍa. Of these four, the first took into it the Malērājya, the Malnad districts of Mysore, and Tuḷu, the coast districts extending southwards from Goa to Mangalore; Hosapaṭṭaṇa-Haḷebīḍ constituted the headquarters viceroyalty with the capital located in the royal capital of the Hoysalas, namely Haḷebīd, but with an important outpost in the newly created, though the fast expanding, Hosapaṭṭaṇa, the Vijayanagar of later times. This took in practically the whole of the central block of what is now the state of Mysore. Muḷbāgal was the next viceroyalty which seems to have included in it a considerable part of the Kolar district and the neighbouring territories along the Palar river southwards at least as far as Tiruvallam and Virinchipuram, the headquarters of other older chieftaincies. Penugoṇḍa in the east took in the outer margin of the Tumkur, and a small portion of the Kolar, districts, and extended its sphere over perhaps the larger half of the so-called Ceded Districts of the present day. This seems to have been the geographical distribution of the territory now comprised within the state of Mysore. We do not hear in this period of the later important viceroyalty of Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam, or of the equally important but somewhat shortlived viceroyalty of Channapaṭṭaṇa. Even the state of Ikkēri as such seems not to figure in the earlier records of this period.

Creation of Srirangapattanam Government.

This division of territory seems to have continued almost unaltered under the first dynasty of Vijayanagar from A.D. 1336 to A.D. 1467. The comparatively weak rule of Mallikārjuna, successor of the great Dēvarāya II, and the constant attacks upon the empire by the Bahmani kingdom on the one side and by the rising state of Orissa on the other, sometimes acting in concert and often without, made the position of the empire difficult to maintain. An officer of the empire springing of a family which had its patrimony in the Chittoor district of the present day, round the towns of Chandragiri and Nārāyaṇavanam, rose into prominence during these troubled times. He gradually extended his authority to take into his sphere the whole of the Vijayanagar viceroyalty of Udayagiri, and placed himself between the enterprising power of Orissa and the more exposed and fertile coast regions of the empire of Vijayanagar in the south. As the empire grew weaker and weaker he seems gradually to have extended his authority so as to bring under his influence the whole of the territories dominated by Kānchī and Muḷbāgal so that in the height of his power his territory extended from Nāgamangala in Mysore, not far from the Kāveri, to the east coast. His general Narasa is found active in the south and seems to have won for his master victories over various chieftains in the immediate vicinity of Madura, so that we may take it that the territory of this rising officer of the empire, Sāḷuva Narasinga, extended almost from Rājahmundri in the north to Madura

in the south.* While Narasinga had gradually extended his territory and influence in this fashion, the empire suffered the calamity of a usurpation by Virūpāksha, the half-brother of Mallikārjuna ascending the throne by putting aside his two nephews and perhaps even by putting Mallikārjuna to death. Virūpāksha had not the qualities of a ruler that would assure quiet possession even of usurped territory. His administration seems to have been feeble in the extreme, and conducted with such a degree of thoughtlessness that even the part of the west coast which contributed so much to the prosperity of the empire began to fall away from it.† Narasinga let matters reach this pass apparently and usurped the empire under circumstances that would enable him to assume the rôle of saviour of the empire. In the course of this strenuous career which raised him from the position of a petty chieftain to the empire, he had the loyal support of a number of able generals and officers who whole-heartedly co-operated with him. Among them, the first rank undoubtedly belongs to Narasa Nāyaka who rendered yeoman service to the usurper, and retained throughout the confidence and esteem of his master. It was he that was responsible for the extension of Narasinga's authority as far as Madura and he seems to have been equally responsible for a westward extension of the same authority that made Narasa's frontiers reach the Kāvēri in the state of Mysore. In the course of one of his wars he is said to have bridged the rapidly flowing Kāvēri and, after crossing it, to have taken possession of Seringapatam and erected a pillar of victory by the great fame of this achievement. ‡ It is this occasion that first brings Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa into notice. Probably Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa remained the seat of a government of an important character and in all probability under a family of chieftains who for some reason or other were regarded as of more than ordinarily high rank. This state of things appears to have continued during the reigns of Narasinga and his son, and of Narasa himself afterwards. When Narasimha II or Vīra-Narasimha, the son of Narasa, ascended the throne in succession to the father, there seems to have been a general revolt of the empire. What exactly might have been the provoking cause of this is nowhere stated clearly as far as we know at present. It seems to have been due, however, to an act of usurpation by this Narasimha, as else there is but little reason to explain a general revolt.§ Narasimha struggled hard and brought back practically the whole of the empire under allegiance to him except the region round Kānchī and the block of territory in southern Mysore under the chieftain of Ummattūr, by name Ganga-Rāja, a scion apparently of the old dynasty of the Gangas. This

* See my "A little known Chapter of Vijayanagar History," pp. 31—47.
† *Ibid.*, pp. 12—23.
‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.
§ *Ibid.*, pp. 71—75.

chieftain is described as "Penugoṇḍa Chākrēśvara" (ruler of the territory of Penugoṇḍa), and as possessed of the "Chikkarāja-paṭṭa" (the title of prince). It was probably Narasa who was responsible for raising Ganga-Rāja of Ummattūr to the actual viceroyalty of Penugoṇḍa and to the extraordinary title of 'prince' to a member not belonging to the royal family. This title was probably a reward for loyal service rendered by this enterprising chieftain in the course of his conquests referred to above. This powerful chieftain, Ganga-Rāja, remained yet unsubdued when Narasimha died after a short reign.

Krishna succeeded to the throne in 1509 and had to reduce this recalcitrant chieftain as the first act of his administration. Having spent the first few months after his coronation in putting the administration in order for his long absence, Krishna started on this expedition towards Penugoṇḍa. He was able to take possession of Penugoṇḍa easily and then marched upon Kānchī; and, subduing the petty chieftains on the way, he moved upon the territory of Ganga-Rāja and laid siege to the citadel Śivasamudram. The siege apparently lasted some time and Krishna had to drain off the Kāvēri and take the fortress by storm. The capture of Śivasamudram put an end to Ganga-Rāja's resistance and leaving behind Sāḷuva Govinda, the Brahman general, to introduce an orderly administration into the conquered territory, Krishna proceeded to Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam and thence to Ikkēri and further onwards to the territory of Bijapur. It is in this campaign of Krishna that both Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam and Ikkēri come somewhat prominently into notice.*

Condition under the Empire.

Neither of these two places, however, figures prominently in the course of the history of the empire. It seems likely that the family of the chieftain of Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam entered into marriage relations with the imperial family as Tirumalāmba, the chief queen of Krishna, seems to have been of that family. The young chief of Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam, probably the heir-apparent, played a prominent part in the battle of Raichur. The Ikkēri Nāyaka sometimes figures in the history of the later empire. Otherwise, these remained headquarters of governments and do not seem to have been of any greater importance than this.

The Battle of Talikotta.

The battle of Talikoṭṭa had the important consequence of shifting the centre of the empire from Vijayanagar. The change of capital had its own consequences of the utmost importance. The most important of these latter was the opening up of the way to the southern provinces for the aggressive activities of the two southern States of the Bahmani kingdom, Bijapur and Golkonda. According to Caesar Frederick, the battle of Talikoṭṭa went against Vijayanagar, chiefly through the treachery of two Muhammadan officers who each commanded a force of 70,000 to 80,000 in the army of Vijayanagar.

* For authorities see my paper "Krishnadēvarāya of Vijayanagar," pp. 5—8.

According to the same authority, the town was given up to loot for six months but was not otherwise destroyed to the extent to make it the ruins that they have since become. Tirumala, younger brother of Rama Rāja, returned to the place, and Caesar Frederick has a tale to tell of how he cheated the horse traders of the value of the horses sold to him, particularly those taken from the Vijayanagar armies in the battle. Caesar Frederick himself lived about seven months in Vijayanagar, though unwillingly, on business. It was two years after the battle that Tirumala changed the capital to Penugoṇḍa. He is said to have carried 350 elephant-loads of treasure from Vijayanagar which would indicate that even the sack of Vijayanagar by the Muhammadans was not as complete as one would take it from the city having been subjected to a six-months' looting. There were also disturbances in the kingdom owing to the recent death of Sadāśiva, who according to the same authority was murdered by Tirumala's son. The disturbance caused by this perfidious act made the working of the diamond mines impossible and perhaps also contributed indirectly to the choice of Penugoṇḍa for the capital. Thus, it appears clear that the transfer of capital from Vijayanagar to Penugoṇḍa was a move which did not result immediately from the battle of Talikoṭṭa but had other important causes to necessitate the change. The capital once changed from the first line of defence laid open the Krishna frontier and naturally proved an inducement to the southward march of the forces of Bijapur and Golkonda either in concert or each one for itself. In the reign of Tirumala, therefore, he had to struggle against internal troubles and dissensions caused by the murder of the legitimate ruler Sadāśiva. He had also to be perpetually active against the aggressions of his northern neighbours of Bijapur and Golkonda. It was as a result of this condition of affairs that, at his death, was brought about a division of the empire which seems to have implied nothing more than a division of the spheres of activity among his three sons. The eldest surviving one Śrīranga succeeded to the empire with his capital at Penugoṇḍa. His special sphere must have been the keeping of internal disorders under control and the external aggressions from the Muhammadans in check. He succeeded on the whole in maintaining his position although he had to stand several sieges at Penugoṇḍa by the Golkonda forces, and on one occasion in A.D. 1579 fell a prisoner into the hands of Ibrahim Kutub Shah of Golkonda through the treachery of Haṇḍē Malakappa Nāyuḍu, the chief of Anantapur. He obtained release probably as the result of a treaty and continued to rule for another six or seven years till about A.D 1585-86. His next younger brother Rama was created ruler over the territory above the ghauts and was located in Seringapatam as his viceregal capital. It is from this time onwards that Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam assumes an important rôle, and it is from this viceroyalty

as we shall see presently that the present State of Mysore arose. The third brother Venkata was given the government of the whole of the Tamil country with his headquarters at Chandragiri. These viceroyalties involved the exercise of the imperial authority over various provinces, each of which had its own separate governor so that this division may be regarded more or less as a division of the imperial authority rather than that of any distribution of territory. The division shows clearly that the empire of Vijayanagar fell back upon its second line of defence and is a clear indication that the move was of the character of a retreat,—may be, a retreat in good order,—for the time being. Śrīranga died, and his next brother Rama apparently died before him, and the imperial authority again united in Venkata, the last brother, in or about the year A.D. 1585-86.

The change of rulers was taken advantage of apparently by the rulers of Golkonda who laid siege again to Penugoṇḍa. This time Penugoṇḍa was saved by the active exertions of Rāṇa Pedda Jagadēvarāyal as he is called. He was given, as a reward for this service to the empire, a new government created obviously on the occasion, with its headquarters at Channapaṭṭaṇa.

It was about 1580 or soon after that the Nāyak of Madura Muttuvīrappa, the Governor of the remotest viceroyalty of the empire with headquarters in Madura, made the first move towards setting himself up, independently of the empire. Venkaṭapati whose sphere of duty it was to control this distant governorship seems to have sent out an expedition to co-operate with the armies of the Nāyak of Tanjore, Achyuta. The two forces co-operated and won a victory against the Pāṇḍya forces at Vallam. Later in the century or early in the beginning of the next, there was another rebellion set up by the Nāyak of Madura and this time Venkaṭapati sent out an expedition under the command of his nephew Tirumala, the elder of the two sons of Rama, viceroy of Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam, who apparently predeceased his elder brother Srīranga who died in 1585-86. His two sons Rama and Śrīranga, being young, lived with their uncle at Penugoṇḍa, while the administration of the viceroyalty of their father was carried on by a deputy whose name is given in Mysore inscriptions and records as Rēmati or Rēvati Venkaṭa Tirumala instead of carrying out loyally the orders of his uncle seems to have tried to make common cause with the enemy. When, in consequence of this attempted defection, he was superseded in command, he retired to his father's viceroyalty and ruled apparently as viceroy of Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam in secret defiance of his uncle, if not in open hostility. Venkaṭa's attention was all taken up with troubles nearer home to pay any serious attention to this sulking nephew, and he had to let him go on so long as he did not make any open movement of hostility. About the year A.D. 1610 Golkonda appeared

to have made a persistent effort to conquer the territories round Penugoṇḍa and take possession of the capital itself. The Nāyak of Ginjee seems to have also made an effort to turn traitor. Venkaṭa had to throw the latter into prison and keep him there in Penugoṇḍa. In the course of the next year or the year following, Venkata felt so hemmed in at Penugoṇḍa that he asked for assistance from the Nāyak of Tanjore. Achyuta, the ruling Nāyak for the time being, a comparatively old man, too pious and devoted to God to take a very active part in these warlike transactions himself, sent his young son, the heir-apparent, a lad of sixteen or seventeen at the head of the whole forces of Tanjore. The prince's efforts were so far successful that the Golkonda forces were beaten back and the siege of Penugoṇḍa was raised to the great satisfaction of the emperor. This difficulty of Venkaṭa was apparently taken advantage of by the smaller chieftains of the viceroyalty at Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam, among them the most enterprising chief Rāja Oḍeyar of Mysore. Among the petty chieftains who were subordinate to the viceroy at Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam there were several that were discontented for one reason or other, and the leader of these malcontents was Rāja Oḍeyar. There were others not very far placed who played the rôle of loyalists, and thus these chiefs were divided in two camps and were constantly at feud with each other. When the empire was in no condition to send efficient assistance to Tirumala, Rāja Oḍeyar made up his mind to attack the viceregal headquarters itself and take possession of it after a siege. The fall of Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam marked the foundation of the State of Mysore as such, but the victor had to play his game so carefully that he could not set himself up as the conqueror in possession of the conquered territory. He was able successfully to play the rôle of a champion of the empire, and, when the siege of Penugoṇḍa was raised, he was able to appeal to the emperor Venkaṭa and obtain a charter from him confirming the possession of the Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam viceroyalty which had been actually in his possession since its fall two years before. What actually was the relation between the viceroy at Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam and the emperor at Penugoṇḍa is not clearly detailed anywhere so far, but it is very likely that the discontented nephew showed himself more actively hostile and intrigued with the enemies of the empire, either the Sultan of Bijapur or the Sultan of Golkonda. Else, it would be difficult to reconcile the attitude of the emperor who could have gained nothing by getting rid of a sulking nephew of a viceroy only to put in his stead a rising ambitious chieftain, the limit of whose ambition he could not then foresee. He must have felt that the viceroyalty was from the imperial point of view so very much better in the hands of even an ambitious chieftain whose patriotism was likely to keep the aggressive Muhammadans at arm's length. It was in these circumstances that the State of Mysore was born and received the blessings of the emperor for its prosperous growth.

(To be continued.)

THE LETTERS AND MEMOIRS OF TIPPOO SULTAN.

By Mr. B. M. Rangiah Naidu, B.A.

On two previous occasions the incidents in the life of Tippoo Sultan have been described to the members of the Mythic Society. I take to-day my inspiration from Mr. R. H. Campbell to investigate further about Tippoo Sultan's life, and I intend to place before you the views of several writers who lived during Tippoo's own lifetime and after it, who vied with each other to describe to the world, the various activities of this 'Tiger' of Mysore. It is unnecessary to refer here to the usurpation of the kingdom of Mysore by Hyder Ali and the assumption of the title of 'Sultan' by his son. The perpetuation of a monarchy which raised its edifice on the frail foundations of a suppressed dynasty was a circumstance which perhaps had ample parallels in Asiatic politics, but there is perhaps hardly an instance of usurpation which dramatically supplanted an ancient line of kings, without shedding a drop of blood, shot like a meteor in the sky, and after playing a prominent part in the history of the time, dropped its lustre in the zenith of its glory, into the hands of the very house which had outlived its exile by divine grace, and which was thankfully spared the pain of wading through slaughter by the genius and the friendship and the solicitude of the British.

Any attempt to investigate the romantic causes of the usurpation of the kingdom of Mysore by Hyder Ali who came to prominence by the magnanimity and sufferance of Nanjaraj, the greatest of the Dalvoys of Mysore, would not be complete without a reference to the able and distinguished authors of contemporary writings and to the reports of administrators most of whom had taken part in the issues that ended this usurpation. Foremost among these are the Marquis of Wellesley himself, and his more illustrious brother, Colonel Arthur Wellesley, afterwards the great Duke of Wellington; Lt.-Colonel Mark Wilks, afterwards Resident in Mysore; Colonel W. Kirkpatrick, one of the Commissioners, appointed to make the territorial distribution among the allies; Major Dirom, Deputy Adjutant-General; Lt. Roderick Mackenzie, on the staff of the Military Auditor-General; Capt. Donald Campbell, a prisoner in Bednore who compassed the defection of Ayaz and brought about the easy surrender of Bednore to General Mathews; Theodore Hooke, Sir David Baird's biographer; Capt. Francis Robson; James Mill, the

celebrated historian ; Thomas Pennant ; Colonel Beatson and other anonymous writers, who have written a full account of the sieges and the fall of Seringapatam.

An account of Tippoo Sultan is recorded by James Mill in the following words :—

"As a domestic ruler, he sustained an advantageous comparison with the greatest princes of the East. He bestowed a keen attention upon the conduct of his government from which he allowed himself to be diverted neither by pleasure nor by sloth. He made a methodical distribution of his time for business with which he was laborious and exact ; but in which his passion for detail made him frequently waste that attention upon minor, which ought to have been reserved to the greatest affairs. He had the discernment to perceive what is so generally hid from the eyes of the rulers in a more enlightened state of Society, that it is the prosperity of those who labour with their hands which constitutes the principle and cause of the prosperity of States ; he therefore made it his business to protect them against the intermediate orders of the community, by whom it is so difficult to prevent them from being oppressed. His country was accordingly, at least during the first and better part of his reign, the best cultivated, and his population the most flourishing in India, while under the English and their dependants, the population of the Carnatic and Oude, hastening to the state of deserts, was the most wretched upon the face of the earth." (Vol VI, page 150. James Mill.)

Jame's Mill is supported by the letters and memoirs of Tippoo Sultan, which were translated by Colonel W. Kirkpatrick, dedicated to the Marquis Wellesley and published in 1811. These letters, which were addressed to various public functionaries by Tippoo Sultan, were gathered on the fall of Seringapatam from a register of about two thousand letters, referring to the period between 1785 and 1794 with considerable blanks. "In making the present selection from about a thousand letters," Colonel Kirkpatrick says, "I have confined myself almost entirely to such as either appeared to exhibit the Sultan in some new light ; to unfold some of his political, financial or commercial views, or to elucidate some historical fact. Those which merely related to the details of ordinary business without eliciting anything peculiarly characteristic of the writer, have been passed over...... I have taken occasion to engraft, besides other original matter, a considerable portion of a highly interesting manuscript, purporting to be a Memoir of Tippoo Sultan, written by himself." The memoirs form the ground work of a more elaborate history written by *Z*ynulabdeen Shoostry, called Sultan-U-Towareekh, the King of Histories. From these it is interesting to observe how Tippoo Sultan

placed a high premium on discipline both in the office and in the field. A few of the more important letters are extracted herein :—

1. To

MOHYUDDEEN ALI KHAN.

" It has been represented to us that you sit constantly at home, without even appearing at the Kutcherry. This is not well. You must pass a proportion of your time daily in the Kutcherry, and there diligently apply to the affairs of the Sircar, without suffering any one to come to your own house on public business. ....If you act in conformity with our orders, it will be well; otherwise, you will assuredly incur the penalty therein specified." (31—8—1785)

2. To

MOHAMED MEHDY, BUKSHY OF SERINGAPATAM.

"You must not suffer any one to come to your house; and whatever business you may have to do, let it be transacted in our Kutcherry. If, nevertheless, people should persist in coming to your house, they shall be deprived of their ears and noses. Pay strict attention to this order."

The following is the note on this letter by Col. Kirkpatrick :—

With respect to the punishment appointed for its infraction, it may be presumed, in the absence of any proof of its ever being actually inflicted, that it was held out only *in terrorem*.

3. To

TURBIYUT ALI KHAN.

On being reminded of his previous letters to which no reply was sent, Tippoo says, " That great person (meaning Ali Khan) eats two or three times a day, sits at ease, and amuses himself with conversation. We, on the other hand, are occupied from morning to night with business."

4. To

THE SEVEN SUPERINTENDENTS OF THE POSTS AT SEVEN CAPITAL CITIES.

" We have fixed the coss at six thousand *guz*, which distance must be travelled by the postman in a *ghurry* and a half (33 minutes and 45 seconds). If the letters appertaining to your Province are not delivered according to this rate, and any delay arises, you must flog the Harkarehs belonging to you."

5. To

CHISHTY YAR KHAN.

" Mahammed Ushruf, the Superintendent of the Dewany Kutcherry of Gooty, wrote to you, by our direction, desiring you to send to him Buswant Rao, the Amil of Beigumpilly, in order to his examining the accounts of the said Amil, and ascertaining his malversations. Instead, however, of complying with his requisition, it appears, to our great astonishment, that you exhibited, on

this occasion, the most senseless and extravagant behaviour; tearing the letter of the Superintendent in pieces and returning it to him in that condition. Such conduct is very remote from what we expected from your good sense; you must instantly, therefore, on receipt of this letter, despatch the said Amil, to Mahammed Ushruf; and take care not to be guilty again of the like improper and rude behaviour, as such proceedings are contrary to our pleasure."

The mild rebuke here administered to a subordinate is certainly not such as could be expected from an alleged tyrant who, it is said, never knew sympathy or self-restraint in his relations with his own people.

Tippoo invited foreign merchants to settle in his kingdom, and in one of the mandates to them, he says "Set out with the utmost confidence of mind for our Presence, accompanied by your family, and such other persons, as may be disposed to come with you. On your arrival here, you shall in all things experience our care and protection, agreeably to your wishes, and be appointed to the charge of the mercantile concerns. A proper place shall be assigned to you for a factory, and such advances of money be made to you as may be requisite for enabling you to carry on your trade advantageously, all the profits of which shall rest with you for the term of two years, during which time also, we promise to grant you an exemption from all duties on your merchandize."

Col. Kirkpatrick observes regarding this concession to foreign traders:— The encouragement here held out to Shaik Ahmed seems to have been abundantly liberal, and shows how much the Sultan had at heart to open a trade with those countries, of which he had no jealousy.

Tippoo is reported to have invited merchants to his capital to plunder them, but if this report be true, he seems to have followed at the time a practice which had long been in vogue, *viz.*, as early as 1659 A.D. for, J. Talboys Wheeler, in his book "Madras in the Olden Times" mentions the details of a cowle granted to Peddanaik by Thomas Chambers in 1659 for the maintenance of the force of peons in Madras, which goes on to say, "And if any merchant or inhabitant of this Town shall run away, and any of your people having knowledge thereof shall conceal it, that then you are to bring that party run away again, and correct him that knew of his departure". It is only fair to add that the Company's servants who managed the factory at Channapatnam (Madras) went a step further than Tippoo Sultan and compelled Peddanaik to punish such persons who knew the departure of runaways and to bring the latter back to Madras.

Tippoo usually treated his subjects with greater concern than he was represented to have done. The following letters bear out what Mill so assiduously wrote in his favour, as being the patron of his people. These are also

in consonance with the description of Tippoo Sultan as given to us by our distinguished State Archæologist Rao Bahabur R. A. Narasimha Char.

1. To

ZYNUL ABDEEN SHOOSTRY.

..." Let the grain furnished by such of the ryots as have submitted to your authority be paid for. On the other hand, let that belonging to those ryots, who have adopted a rebellious course, be plundered and applied to the use of your army."

2. To

MAHAMMED USHRUF, DEWAN OF FYZE-HISAR (GHOOTY)

" You write that, owing to the want of rain, it is to be apprehended that there may be some delay in realizing the revenue. You must write to the Amils of the several Taluks and direct them to distribute grain, etc., in charity. Almighty God will, in His great goodness and mercy, bestow the rain of His bounteousness upon us."

3. To

MONSIEUR LALLY.

" You must allow no more than a single shop to be opened in your camp for the vending of spirituous liquor ; and over that you must place a guard, for the purpose of preventing the sale of spirits to any but the Europeans belonging to you ; it being a rule in our victorious army that no shop of this kind shall be permitted to be established in it."

On another occasion the Sultan commanded Gulam Hyder, Amil of Bangalore, to make the liquor sellers and distillers by written agreement desist from this occupation, and take to other occupations.

Lt. Roderick Mackenzie, who dedicated to Col. John Murray, Military Auditor-General, on the island of Seringapatam in 1792, two volumes of " A Sketch of the War with Tippoo Sultan," (1794) gives the following account of his internal administration :—

" Whilst the Sultan, by the creation of fortresses out of number, daily acquired internal strength, he invigorated his whole system by principles of sound government, and by an economical management of resources to which those of any neighbouring power, if state exigencies are considered, bore no comparison. However bigoted to the tenets of the Koran, the vast number of Hindu temples recently decorated throughout his dominions authorize an assertion that his enthusiasm gave way to his ambition, and that his zeal to propagate the Mussalman faith, did not occasion so many instances of barbarity, as his rage for conquest, and an innate cruel and revengeful disposition. Although parsimonious in a high degree, numbers of his confidential Hindoo servants, who during the war fell into our hands, acknowledged him a lenient and indulgent master ; nor have we to boast of many instances

where his people were induced by our flattering prospects of success to throw off his yoke and shelter themselves under the benign influence of Christian Rulers. On the contrary, with the exception of a very few districts, the inhabitants of Mysore have invariably laid waste their country. They destroyed their habitations, and flying in every direction, they drove their cattle into the most hidden recesses, burning their grain, although famine must have been the inevitable consequence."

"Checking the frauds of intermediate agents by severe and exemplary punishments, the Sultan protected his ryots, who were chiefly of the Hindoo religion, from the enormities of black collectors."

This is the testimony of an officer who was on the spot, which must carry more weight than that of a casual observer. Reference may here be made to Rao Bahadur R. A. Narasimha Char's paper on 'Sringeri' read before the Society.*

Tippoo showed a great deal of toleration of the acts of those who contravened his orders: one example may suffice :—

To

ALI RAJA BEEBY.

"We have received your letter by Fakhruddeen, who has also expatiated to us upon your situation. The custom of the world is this. Servants and dependents hold themselves at all times prepared for the performance of services, the execution of orders, obedience and fidelity. Many times have we written to that lady of chaste degree, on the subject of repairing to our Presence, in reply to which you have continually brought forward evasions and excuses, and still continued to do the same. In this case, what is to be done? Be yourself the judge.

Rooe Wurm-Raj, who presented himself before us, was honoured with a grant of the farm of the Taluk of Cherkul, and with other gifts. If you in like manner had come to us agreeably to our orders, you also would assuredly have experienced our bounteous favour. You will learn the remaining further particulars from the letter of Fakhruddeen."

II

I now come to a more vulnerable part of my subject, which has been the favourite theme of writers ever since the fall of Tippoo Sultan, and which has shown no sign of abatement even unto this day. Tippoo's cruelties have been magnified into atrocities and to an extent that it is well nigh impossible to controvert them. The fact is that Tippoo Sultan was nurtured in fanaticism to which he owed his fall. We are told that it was a Fakir who inspired him when only a lad, to raze temples to the ground and build thereon, the holy house of Mohammed. But he was more conspicuous as a fanatic than as

* Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. VIII, pages 26 to 32.

an iconoclast. Here are some of his letters and extracts from his memoirs which incline us to palliate his crimes, on their merits. There is abundant external evidence to put before you to show that Tippoo was not far worse than what his own letters may portray him to be. On this subject, however, the following letters speak for themselves :—

1. To

URSHUD BAIG KHAN, AUMIL OF CALICUT.

" Endorsed is a letter which we have received from Gopa, the Aumil of Koorumnad, relating to the depredations of the robbers and highway men who infest that district. ...Such of the authors of these flagitious proceedings as have been killed are killed. But why should the remainder of them on being made prisoners be put to death ? Their proper punishment is this. Let the dogs, both black and white, be regularly despatched to Seringapatam."

This serves as an instance of habitual cruelty repudiated. On a certain occasion, when one Krishna Rao, the Mutsaddy of a Jyshe was bitten by a mad dog, he directed Syed Mahamed, the Killadar of Seringpatam, to instruct Mahammed Baig, the State Physician, to administer to him the proper medicines and to restore him to health. On this circumstance let us record Col. Kirkpatrick's observations :—

"Humanity or sympathy in the sufferings of others was not, it may be safely affirmed, among the Sultan's virtues. His conduct, therefore, on the occasion in question, can only be referred to the vanity, which made him desirous of appearing to know, as well as to direct everything. . . . Syed Mahammed Khan continued to be Killadar of Seringapatam to the period of the capture of that place by the English ; and was among the few persons of distinction that survived its fall. . . . The situation held for so long a period by this person, must necessarily have made him a participator in many or most of the cruelties committed within the walls of Seringapatam by the order of his master : he has nevertheless obtained credit for having often granted to the English prisoners confined there, at different times, indulgences by no means authorized by the Sultan's instructions."

It is only right to observe that the Colonel does not give us the facts on which he bases this opinion.

2. To

BURHANUDDEEN.

... " If, however, the garrison will capitulate it will be well ; and in this case with the exception of Kala Pundit the rest may be allowed their lives and arms ; but the Pundit's person must be secured. In the event, however, of your being obliged to proceed to the assault of the place (Nergund) every living creature in it, whether man or woman, old or young, child, dog, cat or

anything else, must be put to the sword, with the single exception of Kala Pundit."

In regard to this letter addressed to Burhanuddeen, Col. Kirkpatrick says "The spirit of Nadir Shah appears to breathe through every line of the concluding sentence of this memorable letter."

3. In another letter addressed to the same person, he says, "It has been reported to us that the besieged are desirous of capitulating, and have opened a negotiation for the purpose. It is therefore written that, if they will surrender on terms, there is no use in an assault. . . . In the meanwhile you must temporize, and employ every means, fair or foul, which may induce the besieged to surrender the fort, because in an assault many lives would be lost; while a long detention before the place would also prove extremely destructive to the army."

Though it may be true that the Sultan never hesitated to show his irascible temperament, nevertheless he checked his violent spirit by a like sense of consideration to humanity which, as is recorded, he often manifested. Here is another letter:—

TO MEER ZYNUL ABIDEEN.

"You are in conjunction with the Foujdar to make a general attack on the Koorgs; when having put to the sword or made prisoners of the whole of them, both the slain and the prisoners are to be made Mussalmans. In short, you must so manage matters as effectually to prevent them from exciting any further sedition or disturbance."

Tippoo's misguided instincts, led on by an over-abundance of zeal for his religion, made him believe that the subdued people of other nationalities, could only be made loyal and true to him, if they were converted to his own faith. Here was a folly which he never learned to correct, but which paved the way in the latter days of his reign to create a host of enemies among his own subjects who were otherwise contented and loyal to him. This is a weakness, not uncommon at the time, to any ruler of men and a ruler is to be judged by the standard to be set amongst his contemporaries. Tippoo's mannerisms are equally common in his conversations and in his writings. He descended to much vulgarity and looseness in his expressions without discerning that a fastidious posterity may and would judge him as much from his acts as from his writings. Expressions such as "both the slain and the prisoners are to be made Mussalmans."

"Every living creature in it, whether man or woman, old or young, child, dog or cat or anything else, must be put to the sword."

"If people should persist in coming to your house, they should be deprived of their noses and ears."

"There is no regulation issued by us that does not cost us, in the framing of it, the deliberation of five hundred years."

And several others are sometimes observed by Col. Kirkpatrick, as being "held out *in terrorem*" and sometimes as "breathing Nadir Shah's spirit."

All people of all tongues use such expressions in common parlance, as "I will kill you", "You'll be hanged", "I won't let you go even if you die", etc. These cannot, however, be taken very seriously. Tippoo's fault was, perhaps, that he did not show refinement enough expected of a modern prince!

III

Reference will now be made to some portions of his memoirs, or Tarukhe-Khodadady or History of Khodadad Sircar, especially those relating to the relief of Bednore. This is the first campaign which Tippoo Sultan was called upon to undertake after the death of Hyder Ali and his accession to power. The death of Hyder Ali was kept a secret by the sagacity of Purnia who put Tippoo Sultan in peaceful possession of Hyder Ali's usurped dominions, after putting down some conspirators, who tried to dispossess him and set up a rival. The Madras Government got scent of the death of Hyder Ali and urged General Stuart to attack Hyder's camp forthwith, but the General flouted the intelligence of his Government and allowed Tippoo to retire to Seringapatam in peace. The Government of Bombay, however, despatched General Mathews to attack Bednore and divert Tippoo from the Carnatic. General Mathews' infamous campaign proved abortive. It gave to Tippoo Sultan, who had already the upper hand in the Carnatic and had made men like Colonel Braithwaite and Colonel Baillie prisoners, an impetus to the spirit of his military aggrandizement, and belittled both the character and the strength of the British in his eyes. The fragment of the memoirs now available which Colonel Kirkpatrick obtained from Capt. Ogg, an officer on the staff of Colonel Arthur Wellesley (Duke of Wellington), begins only from the events relating to the Siege of Bednore by Tippoo Sultan, after that fort had passed into the possession of General Mathews by the infidelity of Hayat Sab. Col. Kirkpatrick says that the accounts of the first operations against General Mathews is unfortunately wanting. The surrender of General Mathews to Tippoo Sultan is recorded in the memoirs in these words:—

"The assault was made on the fort of Bednore, and on the eleventh day the garrison surrendered upon seven conditions. Article 3 runs as follows:— "Whatever money, goods or cattle belonging to the Sircar, may be in our possession, we will deliver up the same; and if we should take with us to the value of a *Daum* or *Dirm* of money or goods, and if upon search by the people of the Sircar, anything of the kind be found upon us we consent to be considered to be criminals. Inflict whatever punishment you please upon us." After

their surrender I sent twenty principal men and Sirdars to General Mathews the next day, and asked him why his men had acted contrary to the terms of the capitulation. In reply to this they said that a guard of the Sircar should be placed over them, and a search should be made, and everything taken that might be found. This agreement was obtained in writing. Hereupon, I dismissed the accursed worthless Sirdars : and on the second (or following) day, having surrounded them with guards, I caused them to march from the encampment they then occupied to the vicinity of another spot (which had been appropriated by them) as a burying ground. The Sirdars of the Sircar placing themselves in the road, examined them, one by one, as they passed. The accursed ones were, in consequence, found to have concealed in every seam of their clothes Hyderi Hoons (pagodas) and jewels. They had also made holes in sheep's heads which they had filled with pagodas. Some had concealed pagodas in loaves of bread; others within Hookah snakes, and Hooka bottoms; while several had resorted to the most indelicate means of concealment: all of which were detected by sweepers and other *samries*, appointed for the purpose by the Sircar. Many young, also male and female, natives of the country of the Sircar, were found disguised in the dress of the Nazarenes. These captives of their own accord set up a loud cry by which means about five hundred were discovered. The search being over, I had the worthless Sirdars placed separately, the Nazarene people separately, and the other infidels separately ; and as they had not acted conformably with their written engagements, I made the whole prisoners, and distributed them throughout the country. During the investigation, ten or twelve Mussalman women, Syeds and Shaiks, who had been made captives or slaves by the infidel Nazarenes at Surat and Bengal were found among the people. These people being likewise separated from the Nazarenes and restored to their freedom, were permitted to depart."

Tippoo proceeded thence to Kurial Bunder (Mangalore) of which he says: "An ungrateful rogue, who had been honoured with the Government of it, had invited the Nazarenes, and delivered it up to them."

The Sultan, perhaps, intended to leave the memoirs as an heirloom to his posterity, and not as a document for public criticism and judgment of his actions. Otherwise the manner of his writing might have been considerably different. The bigot is mainly there; but we perceive that he did not imbrue his hand in blood in this campaign.

Thomas Pennant who wrote in 1798 two volumes on "The View of Hindustan" also speaks thus of the events which took place in Bednore :— "Tippoo Sultan had in the latter end of the year 1782 made a most destructive inroad into the Carnatic. To divert the ravages of the tyrant was the

object of the Presidency of this coast (Bombay). General Mathews landed at Miraj in January 1783. He carried the opulent town of Onore, which lay on the coast by storm. "Every man," says an actor in the tragedy, "in Onore was put to the sword; the carnage was great; we trampled thick on dead bodies that were strewed in the way. It was rather shocking to humanity; but such are but secondary considerations to a soldier whose bosom glows with heroic glory, and are thought only accidents of course." (Lt. Hubbard's letter.) "From the time of storming Onore, the General's conduct was totally altered. ....He appeared before Bednore, at the time wholly defenceless. It was then governed by Hyat Saib, a person of consummate abilities and firm fidelity towards his master. He secretly sent Mathews, as soon as he had entered the plains to offer to surrender the place, and to deliver to the English all the treasures on condition that the persons and property of the inhabitants should be secured, and himself continued in the Government under the English with all the power he had under Hyder.

* * * * *

Mathews, now in possession of the treasures of ages, and dazzled by the heaps of gems of Hindustan, such strong temptations rose in view as instantly to dissipate every virtuous idea he might before have possessed. Avarice and rapacity occupied their seats, and he rose like the fiend Mammon with all his attributes. The General seized on all the treasures and imprisoned Hyat Saib. He as suddenly released him, and made to him a pretended restitution of all his wealth.* Strong suspicions of the General's conduct pervaded the army. To allay their murmurs, he prevailed on Hyat Saib to present the troops with about the value of twenty thousand pounds in pagodas. He had also quarrelled with Macleod, Mackenzie, Humberston and Major Shaw. The General now for the first time sent despatches to the Presidency, filled with false statement of affairs, and complaints against the army, from the Generals to the very common men. ....Mathews did not make a true estimate of this species of common treasure, magazines, stores, etc., his avarice made him neglect his security, yet he weakened his army by making detachments to every place where the prospect of plundering could allure him. ...... Among other places sent a detachment to Annanpur (Anantapore), a strong fort adjacent to Bednore, which Hyder had made the depot of the rest of his treasure. The place was taken by storm. Let Lt. Sheen relate the disgraceful event: "When a practicable breach was effected, orders were issued for a storm and no quarter, which was immediately put in execution; and every man put to the sword, except one horseman, who made his escape, after being wounded in three different places. A dreadful sight presented itself; above

* Lt. Sheen's letter in Capt. Oakes' Narrative, page 77.

four hundred beautiful women,—either killed or wounded with the bayonet, expiring in one another's arms, while the private soldiers were committing every kind of outrage and plundering them of their jewels, the officers not being able to restrain them. .... The troops were, however, afterwards, severely reprimanded for it."

Thomas Pennant continues the narrative of the siege of Bednore and says further on "It was currently believed that he had sent by his brother to Goa three hundred thousand pounds and a great quantity of diamonds to be remitted to Bombay, and that even on the point of his departure, he had caused the bamboos of his palanquin to be pierced and filled with pagodas. When Tippoo examined the state of his treasury, he grew enraged at this infamous fraud; he declared the treaty void, put the officers and their sepoys faithful to them to the last, indiscriminately in irons, and marched them in that condition in a burning sun to prisons in Seringapatam and other places.

It is evident that the severities exercised by Tippoo after this victory was here the determined resolution of inflicting a just punishment, but, unhappily, he included in it the innocent as well as the guilty. After his defeat of Col. Braithwaite, on the banks of the Coleroon, how different was his conduct: he considered Mathews as the sordid adventurer, Braithwaite as the generous enemy, and treated him and the wounded captives with a humanity that shewed his coolness, and capacity of distinguishing between the one and the other."

We see from the above narratives that Tippoo's conduct towards the English grew very aggressive after this campaign. The defection of Hyat Saib or Ayaz was brought about by Capt. Donald Campbell, a military adventurer, who was shipwrecked and captured on the coast of Goa and made prisoner, and who says in a letter addressed to Warren Hastings on May 3, 1783, as follows:—"I had had several conferences with Hyat Saib before Hyder's death, and endeavoured to suggest to him the advantage which would arise to him from a revolt in favour of the Company. My efforts in these conversations ended ultimately in the most rigorous distress to myself; I was put in irons, and remained so for four months, in a situation only of existence, without any hopes of ever escaping. When General Mathews had stormed the Ghauts Hyat Saib sent for me, and after various struggles, and much indecision, agreed to my proceeding to the English camp; and I conducted General Mathews, almost unattended into Bednore."

How he finally accomplished this defection of Hyat Saib was thus:—

"I reminded him, however, that circumstances were at present widely different from what they then were—that he had got a very different sovereign to serve—that he had no longer the tender father (for so Hyder might have

been considered by him) but Tippoo Sultan, now the master, once the rival whose measures he had always opposed, against whom he had laid a most serious charge, and who, considering the firmness of his nature, could not be reasonably supposed to have forgiven him; and I hinted that whatever external appearance of regard Tippu might, from the political necessity of the moment assume, his temper and spirit of Asiatic policy were too well known to have a doubt remaining, that so far from continuing him in the same power and authority which he enjoyed during the lifetime of his father Hyder, he would, on the contrary, proceed against him with rigour and cruelty. ......I enforced my arguments with all the power I had: they were supported by the acknowledged character for generosity of the English, and still more by Hyat's apprehensions of Tippoo; and they had their effect. That very night he authorized me to go to the British General, and though he would not commit himself by sending proposals in writing, he consented to receive them from the General." Capt. Campbell says in another place, "When I delivered the cowl to the Jemadar (Hyat) he read it and seemed pleased, but talked of four or five days to consider of an answer, and seemed to be wavering in his mind, and labouring under the alternate impulses of opposite motives and contradictory passions."

Colonel Wilks who published his second volume of the History of Mysore in 1817 makes a passing note of this eventful incident in these words:— "Captain Donald Campbell, a prisoner in irons, was released on the preceding day and sent to General Mathews to propose terms which were to deliver the fort and country, and to remain under the English as he was under the Navab (Hyder) to which conditions General Mathews immediately assented."

Colonel Wilks was not unaware of the defection of Ayaz, for he says later on, "We shall close the subject with observing with reference to the countless treasures supposed to be found in Bednore that, Tippoo Sultan, in narrating with the utmost bitterness the defection of Ayaz, states that he carried along with him a large property in cash and valuables."

The earliest reference to the treatment of the prisoners by Tippoo Sultan is found in a book entitled "The Life of Hyder Ali" published in 1786 in London by Francis Robson, 'late Capt. in the forces of the East India Company'. This author published this book in order, among other things, 'to confute misrepresentations, etc.,' made in a book published by one M.M.L.D.T., General of ten thousand men in the Mogul Empire, etc. He says:—

"Side Saib (Syed Saib), one of Tippoo's generals, advanced and told Colonel Braithwaite that the lives of his party should be saved, and whatever of their baggage that could be preserved from the general plunder, should

be restored to them. ......As soon as the confusion was a little subsided, Tippoo Saib ordered all the English officers to be brought to him when after examining them, they were sent into the village, accompanied by one of his French surgeons to dress those that were wounded.

The next morning Tippoo sent them a few pieces of fine Calico cloth, to make them clothes; also four pieces of a coarser sort for bandages for their wounds; likewise thirty pagodas, with further assurance, that they should have whatever they wanted." 18-2-1782.

Of the siege of Bednore.—" On the 5th May 1783, all our servants were taken away except one to each officer. On the 6th the subaltern officers belonging to Anantapore were brought prisoners to the barracks in irons. The same day Dr. Carmichael of the Bombay establishment was sent for by the Nawab to visit Brigadier-General Mathews. In the evening the Nawab was so generous as to send us a present of thirty-five small fowls and a few salt-fish to be divided among upwards of eighty officers.

Messrs. Gordon and Brunton had formerly been confined at Seringapatam, where they were treated tolerably well, and for the first six months were not in irons; about twenty months before our arrival at Chittledroog, they were removed to that fort, where they were at first treated remarkably well, having meat and liquor daily served out to them, exclusive of their allowance of rice and pice, and were besides supplied with a plentiful bazaar. The capture of Bednore caused some alteration in their treatment for the worse; but nothing very material took place, till those gentlemen were detected in a correspondence with Lord Macartney, Governor of Madras, and in endeavouring to send a letter to us. In consequence of this discovery, they were confined by themselves in a very small dark room, the door of which was only suffered to remain open one hour in the day."

It may be observed that the prison-house in which Capt. Baird was confined, was not the type of a modern day prison, nor was it a dungeon with all the horror of darkness enveloping it. The prisoners confined in the hill-forts of Mysore were released by the treaty of Mangalore, and they were taken charge of by Mr. Sadlier, the Commissioner, who did not complain of cruelty to them.

" On the 8th April 1784, they were overtaken by Mr. Sadlier (a Councillor at Madras and one of the Commissioners) at Sira. This gentleman was requested by one of our officers to use his endeavour with the Bukshy to get all the men taken out of irons, replied thus:—" The situation the troops were then in was the best and securest method of marching them."

Sir David Baird's biographer offers the following tribute to Tippoo :— " During the first day's march Tippoo came up in his palanquin to Colonel

Baillie, and spoke to him in the handsomest manner, complimenting him upon his gallantry, and bidding him keep up his spirits, as his defeat was attributed only to the uncertain fortune of war. He also assured him that it was the intention of his father, Hyder Ali, to render him every assistance, and not to suffer him to want for anything during his captivity, and even went so far as to request Colonel Baillie, if he found at any time any cause for complaint, to send to him, promising to see the grievance, whatever it might be, properly adjusted."

Major Dirom, whom Col. Kirkpatrick calls as a "judicious and interesting narrator", has the following appreciation of Tippoo's treatment of Lt. Nash and Lt. Chalmers, who were released on the appearance of Lord Cornwallis at the gates of Seringapatam in 1792 :—

"On the evening of the 8th February 1792, Tippoo sent for these officers. They found him sitting under the fly of a small tent pitched on the south glacis of the fort, apparently much dejected, very plainly dressed, and with only a few attendants. After giving them the welcome tidings of their intended release, he asked Lt. Chalmers, whether he was not related to Lord Cornwallis and an officer of considerable rank in the army. ....Lts. Chalmers and Nash, although detained contrary to the rules of war, had not been ill-treated in their confinement. Their baggage and servants were allowed them ; they had a good house, and were not put in irons in the cruel manner in which Tippoo used to treat his prisoners."

Major Dirom notices the system of cruelty that prevailed in those days and records an explanation of the Vakeels of Tippoo Sultan in this manner :— "This system of cruelty which continued to brand the conduct of Tippoo's Government was exemplified in another instance ; ten of the followers of the Bombay troops were taken the day that army fell back to Caniambaddy, and now came into camp, each mutilated of a hand. They said a *Chubdar*, with a silver stick, one of the Sultan's messengers of justice had taken them from the place where they were confined to the public bazaar, where their hands were cut off after which they were dismissed. They were shown to the Vakeels, who after enquiring, said they were caught plundering, but had been punished without the Sultan's knowledge. The Vakeels gave the same answer on being asked with respect to the treatment of our prisoners, and said that the Sultan had never authorized any such severity and could not enquire into all the details of his Government."

Here is probably a solution to the problem whether all the blood that was shed could be attributed to Tippoo Sultan. Sir David Baird, aggrieved though he was, as nobody else was, had the magnanimity and chivalry of a British gentleman of whom his biographer writes:—"As the troops were now

in possession of every part of the ramparts, and it appeared hopeless for the Sultan to make further resistance, General Baird sent forward Major Allan to offer protection to all persons, Tippoo himself included (for General Baird did not believe the story of the murder of the English Soldiers, knowing the mendacity of the natives, who may be interested in doing mischief)."

The following remarks are offered as a foot-note to the opinion held by General Baird by his biographer:—"Although General Baird could not bring himself to credit this report, it eventually proved to be true. Capt. William Macleod who conducted what in Indian phraseology is called the intelligence department of Government subsequently made an official report upon the subject to General Harris.

Eight of those who suffered death were men belonging to the 33rd who had lost their way on the night of the Sultan Petta Tope affair, a fact ascertained by Colonel Wellesley, who sent some of the officers of the regiment, by whom the body of one of the men was identified, a peon having undertaken to show where the European prisoners were buried. These unfortunate captives, it seems, were murdered at night, in parties of three at a time—the mode of killing them was by twisting their heads, while their bodies were held fast, and thus breaking their necks. It seems therefore not improbable that much of the desperation of Tippoo which has been dignified into heroism arose from the consciousness of what he himself deserved, should he fall into the hands of his enemies."

The charge of desperation appears exaggerated.

In the "Narrative Sketches of the Conquest of Mysore," a book published at Lyceum Strand in 1800, by an anonymous writer, who says that "many particulars of these sketches are personal communications from gentlemen who were actors in the scenes described", the following passage occurs:—"When it was reported to him that our parallels and approaches were unusually crowded with Europeans, he did not express the least apprehension, or take any other precaution, than by desiring the messenger to return to the west face with orders to Meer Goffar with the troops near the breach to keep a strict guard. This order was not, however, closely attended to, for during the Sultan's absence leave was given for more than two-thirds of the people on duty to eat their rice, which had been dressed for them at some distance within the works; and this circumstance exactly falling in with the calculations of our general in deciding upon the hour of attack, materially contributed to its success, for none of the troops thus absent had returned to their quarters till it was too late. ....The Sultan was so infatuated as not to entertain an apprehension of the catastrophe which befell him: he considered himself as in a state of perfect security in his capital, where he retained all his family and

treasures, instead of sending them off to remote strongholds, where they might at least have been reserved from a victorious enemy. His principal people and all the inhabitants possessed the same confidence, so that no preparation had been made for concealment or flight.

A great volume of incorrect ideas, mainly due to want of accurate knowledge, has spread about Tippoo Sultan. For example, one writer says that the prisoners were killed by the poison of the milk of the cocoanut juice; another says that the Raja of Mysore was carrying on the profession of a potter at the fall of Seringapatam when he was raised to the throne; yet another says that Tippoo, in a fit of desperation, might have ordered the murder of British prisoners before his fall. That these are unfounded are clear from the foregoing account. It will be useful to remember the times when India was thrown into a number of petty states and principalities, ruled by tyrants whose might only was right, but who never tried to consolidate what they acquired by conquest and who incessantly depended for the stability of their position upon the strength of their arms. This was not peculiar to India alone but was a common feature of the period. The love of personal security of the monarch waived all considerations of justice and humanity whenever that security was threatened either by local or outside influence. Not that Tippoo must be exonerated from the blame of being a cruel Sultan, but that his cruelty, if any, arose out of circumstances and the necessity of the hour which influenced him to a greater or less degree. He might have been a kind ruler, and a more circumspect ally, if his fanaticism and rage for conquest had left him free to walk in that path but the fates seemed to have decided otherwise and his fall was the inevitable consequence of his own acts.

PERIYAPURANA OR THE LIVES OF THE GREAT SAIVA DEVOTEES.

[*This is a continuation of the article that appeared in Vol. XII, pages 194—202. The author proposes to issue these as well as the lives of the Vaishnava saints in book form under the title* South Indian Saints. *Any publisher wishing to undertake the publication may apply to him through us.*]

BY P. V. JAGADISA AYYAR

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INTRODUCTION.

A wise personage has stated that a man is a cut diamond of many facets and that he has to polish every one of them by well-regulated thoughts, emotions and acts.

To attain the first, one may bear in mind the dictum of "plain living and high thinking" and live a life of simplicity regulated by lofty thoughts and high emotions.

Human actions are to be controlled and guided by high moral ideals and then only can we have human beings attaining perfection in this direction.

But as regards *Bhakti* or devotion an aspect in human evolution one cannot say too much even if he exhausts his whole stock in the attempt.

It has been laid down by the wise sages of old that the surest, easiest and swiftest way to union with God to part no more is the way of *Bhakti* or devotion to absolute absorption in the object of devotion. It is said that a true *Bhakta* or devotee forgets everything but the object of his love and remains absorbed and merged in it for infinite length of time.

"ROME WAS NOT BUILT IN A DAY" is a saying every school boy knows. So it is plain that nothing can be attained by a single leap or bound at least by average human beings. So it is absolutely necessary to provide them with steps to lead them on to perfection. With this aspect of the problem in view certain great sages, instead of quietly merging themselves in the supreme being of infinite bliss, came into the midst of ordinary men and women and set them examples in true *Bhakti* by their unparalleled devotion to the objects of their love.

Convinced of the fact that a repeated study of the lives of *Bhaktas* would draw out of the readers the latent *Bhakti* and make it grow and grow till the requisite limit is reached to merge in the one infinite bliss, the lives of most of the SOUTH INDIAN SAINTS are sketched in the ensuing chapters.

Kalikkama Nayanar.

(Be moderate in your sleep.)

In a place called Tirupperumaṅgalam in the Chōḻa kingdom there lived a Veḷḷaḷa named Kalikkāma Nāyanār. He was the hereditary commander-in-chief of the royal army and a loyal devotee of Īswara to boot. The famous saint Sundaramūrti Nāyanār had sent his Īswara as a mediator between him and his Paravaiyār when they had differences; and when Kalikkāma Nāyanār heard of it he condemned his action as quite unbecoming in strong terms. Such a one prompted by and coming under the influence of the love for a woman did not deserve to be a devotee of Siva he used to say.

This news reaching the ears of Sundaramūrti Nāyanār made him appeal to Īswara who thereupon desired to make the two devotees fast friends and therefore made Kalikkāma Nāyanār suffer unbearable pain in the stomach.

While he was writhing in agony, Īswara approached him and said that the pain would disappear only by the treatment of Sundara Mūrti.

As Kalikkāma Nāyanār would have no such help and perish if need be from the pain, Īswara approached Sundara and sent him to cure his rival devotee.

When Kalikkāma Nāyanār heard of the approach of his hated rival, he thought that it would be better to perish at his own hands rather than be cured by him. He therefore took a sharp knife, cut open his abdomen and died.

His wife and others of his relatives also were about to put an end to their existence when they were told that Sundara had arrived at the gates. Without informing him of the action of Kalikkāma Nāyanār they brought him inside. When he asked them as to where his friend he came in search of was, they pointed out Kalikkāma Nāyanār's corpse and said that he was all right and was sleeping soundly.

When Sundara approached him and saw that he had perished at his own hands, he too tried to put an end to his life when Siva appeared then and caught hold of his uplifted hand.

Kalikkāma Nāyanār was restored to life by Siva who thereupon saluted Sundara. The two then became great friends and visited several religious centres in company.

Returning to his place after taking leave of Sundara, Kalikkāma Nāyanār devoted the rest of his days in attending to the repairs of the temple at Tiruppuṅgūr and feeding of the devotees of Siva and after death reached the abode of eternal bliss.

Appoothyadigal Nayanar.

(Do not utter words of deceit.)

Once there lived in a place called Tiṅgalūr in the Chōḷa Kingdom a Brāhmin devotee of Īswara named Appoothy Nāyanār. An admirer of the head and heart of the devotee Tirunāvukkarasu Nāyanār, he gave his worthy name to his children, cattle and utensils also. He conducted many charities in his name and several indeed were the rest-houses built in his honour.

The weary travellers resting in them had cool drinks and light refreshments supplied to them in the name of the saint Tirunāvukkarasu Nāyanār.

On one occasion the saint himself, in whose name and honour the several deeds of charity were being done, visited a rest-house and was surprised to see it running in his name.

He hailed a passer by and learned from him about the several other charities and philanthropic institutions running in his name. He desired to meet the donor and ascertain from him the motive with which he was doing such things.

Finding out his residence, he approached the same, and, as a devotee of Siva, he received a warm welcome at the hands of our Appoothy.

Without disclosing his identity Tirunāvukkarasu asked him as to why he was running the charities not in his name, but in the name of another.

Appoothy in reply eulogised the merits of Tirunāvukkarasu and expressed his surprise at the ignorance of a devotee of Siva like him about the same.

When he asked him subsequently as to who he was, Tirunāvukkarasu disclosed his identity and explained to him at length about his temporary adherence to the faith of *Samanas* and the resultant ailment cured subsequently by his return to the true faith.

Feeling great delight in each others' company, the two devotees of Īswara spent many a happy hour discussing questions on *Bhakti*.

One day Appoothy Nāyanār had made arrangements to feed Tirunāvukkarasu in his house. When the meals were ready, Appoothy sent his eldest son to bring a leaf from his garden. There a serpent stung him, but the lad, the true and worthy son of a true and worthy devotee of Īswara, hastened inside with the leaf and after handing it to his mother fell down and died.

The death of her son did not grieve the lady in the least. What affected her most was that Tirunāvukkarasu would not take the meals prepared if he came to know of it.

So she kept the corpse concealed in a corner of the house and invited Tirunāvukkarasu for meals as if nothing had happened.

Tirunāvukkarasu however felt that everything was not all right. As all the members of the family were to be seated together for meals, he enquired

as to who Appoothy's eldest son was and desired him to come before him to receive his blessings first. Appoothy's wife could not avoid giving out the truth, and she explained how her eldest born was a corpse in a corner of the house there.

Having rebuked her mildly, he proceeded forthwith to the Siva temple in the place. There placing the corpse of the lad before the deity, he prayed to Īswara fervently, and, as a result of his prayer, the lad came back to life and saluted Tirunāvukkarasu and his parents!

They all then returned to their house and sat to enjoy a hearty dinner.

Kadavrakon Nayanar.

(Do your actions with a will.)

In the place called Conjeevaram in the country of Toṇḍamāns there was born in the dynasty of the Pallavas a true devotee of Īswara named Ayyaḍigaḷ Kāḍavarkōn Nāyanār. He desired very much that all creatures should be made both here and hereafter and reach in the end the region of eternal bliss. He also wished to subdue the other countries to turn those following the false faith on the path of true faith which was being followed by only the true devotees of Īswara. Many kings came under his sway, accepting him as their suzerain lord and king. A few years of administration of the kingdom made him think the position to be the source of bliss not unalloyed and consequently to renounce it in favour of his son and to betake himself to a life of pilgrimage to famous religious centres to worship Īswara and gain merit.

He visited the famous temples like Chidambaram, etc., causing repairs to them and serving Siva's devotees whenever and wherever he met them. In each place he visited he sang the glory of Īswara in verse. After years of pure and religious life he was gathered by Īswara to the region of his *Bhaktas* to enjoy eternal bliss there.

Poosalar Nayanar.

(Do not fall from the stage gained.)

Once there lived in a Tiruninravūr, in the country of the Toṇḍamāns, a Brāhmin devotee of Īswara named Poosalār Nāyanār. He was serving the devotees of Siva to the best of his abilities and was furnishing them with everything they stood in need of.

Once he desired to have a temple erected for Siva. He went through the length and breadth of the land in search of wealth for the purpose; but to no purpose. He at last made up his mind to build one in his mind since he could not erect one in this physical and tangible world.

Having gathered the necessary materials mentally, he engaged a large number of artizans, masons, workmen and so on with the aid of that wonderful sense, only on an auspicious day and hour. His mental edifice was finished

to his entire satisfaction and he had resolved to instal his deity in the proper place in the temple on the ensuing day.

Meanwhile one Kāḍavarāyar had erected a grand temple at Conjeevaram spending vast wealth and he also had arranged for the installation of the deity with the proper rites and ceremonies on the very day fixed by our Poosalār Nāyanār.

God Siva appeared to Kāḍavarāyar in his dream and told him to postpone his installation ceremony of the deity in the temple at Conjeevaram since he had to be present in the temple built at Tirunindravūr by his devotee Poosalār on the day he had selected.

Filled with astonishment, Kādavarāyar made a journey to where Poosalār Nāyanār lived, to see the wonderful temple built by him for Īswara.

Arriving at Tiruninravūr he looked for the temple everywhere in vain. Questioned as to who Poosalār was and where he lived he was told that he was a Brāhmin devotee with no fixed place to live in.

Going to him, Kāḍavarāyar prostrated before him and asked him as to where his temple was. When he, opening wide his eyes with astonishment, told him of his mental edifice, Kādavarāyar felt the force of his devotion before which *his*, he thought, paled into insignificance.

We need not add that Poosalār installed the deity in his mental temple at the proper time and was blessed by Siva with his presence.

Tirugyanasambandamurthi Nayanar and his followers.

(Do not forget charity.)

Once there lived in Shiyāḷi a Brāhmin named Sivapādhahridayar. He had a wife named Bhagavatiyār and they were both devotees of Siva. He desired to have a son who would put down the false faiths that had taken root in the land and substantiate the true faith. To gain his desire, he prayed fervently to Īswara who, in response to his prayers, granted him a son who was named Tirugyānasambandar.

Brought up tenderly the child grew into an attractive and intelligent one often crying without any visible cause.

One day it accompanied its father when he went to the tank to bathe. Left on the banks it began to cry for its *father* and *mother*, to wit Siva and Umā; since it was really a soul born as such being sent by Īswara in whom he abode.

Even as a mother who would hasten to nurse her hungry child, Umā under directions from Siva hastened to nurse the child crying on the banks of the tank in which Sivapādhahridayar was bathing.

When Sivapādha came out of the water on the bank, he saw milk in the mouth of his child and thought that some untouchable might have nursed it and fe ltangry at it for having allowed it!

When threatened to be punished if it did not instantly point out the person who nursed it, the child pointed out Siva and Pārvati, on their bull in the sky and said in metre that it was they who nourished him.

Sivapādha first and the others afterwards, when they heard of the same, were filled with astonishment at this marvellous phenomenon brought about by the boy devotee.

From that day forward the glory of Īswara shone through him. He performed miracles after miracles. His contemporaries Tiruneelanakka Nāyanār, Muruha Nāyanār, Siruttoṇḍar, Appar and others visited him and bore his company.

The then Pāṇḍyan king was a follower of the faith of the *Samanas* but his wife Maṅgayankarasi aided by prime-minister Kulacherai Nāyanār was a devotee of Īswara. These wanted to destroy the faith of the *Samanas* and re-establish the true faith of the followers of Īswara through the help of Tirugyānasambandar.

To set the skill of the *Samanas* against that of our Tirugyānasambandar, Lord Siva caused the Pāṇḍyan king to suffer from a burning sensation all over his body. This was also partly to make him suffer for the attempt of the *Samanas* to destroy Tirugyānasambandar by fire.

On the advice of Maṅgayārkarasiyār the king promised to stick to the faith of the side that could cure him of his ailment.

The *Samanas* tried their magical arts but the king's malady grew worse and he had to receive the help from the other side, namely Tirugyānasambandar, who was able to effect his cure.

The king put the parties to further tests to find out the true faith and the *Samanas* failed to stand them, while Gnānasambandar took out of fire a piece previously consumed by it while the *Samana* chiefs were not able to do any such thing! Further a Cudjon leaf bearing words of potence from the *Samanas* when thrown into a river was carried away by the current while a similar one thrown into the same stream by Tirugyānasambandar went up the stream clearing its waters!

Convinced beyond doubt that the *Samana's* faith was not the true faith, the Pāṇḍyan king embraced the faith of Siva's devotees to the intense delight of his wife and his prime-minister Kulacherai Nāyanār.

Shortly afterwards our Gyānasambandar married and with his wife, relatives and all those who graced the marriage occasion entered the temple and was absorbed in the body of Īswara to lead the life of eternal bliss.

On the gōpura of the Ādhipurīswara temple, Tiruvorriyūr (Chinglepu district), right of entrance, is a record of Vijayagaṇḍagōpāladēva, 15th year (2nd Septr., 1264) for feeding in the *Tirugyānasambhandar Matha* at this place.

Tiruneelakantayalpa Nayanar.

(Grow pãddy to be independent.)

Once there lived in Erukkathampādi in the Chōḷa kingdom a devotee of Siva named Tiruneelakaṇṭayāḷpa Nāyanār. He used to sing to the tune of musical instruments the glory of Īswara in all the temples he visited.

Having visited all the temples in the Chōḷa country, he went to Madura in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom to sing the praise of the deity there; when his songs of praise were finished our Nāyanār was taking rest. The deity, filled with delight at the exquisite melody of the devotee coupled with deep devotion towards Him, appeared to all his other devotees in their dreams and directed them to bring him to his presence on the next day.

When the devotees in a body approached him and told him of Siva's directions he hastened with them to the temple there, and again sang in praise of his Lord Siva.

A voice was heard from space giving directions to give our Nāyanār a golden seat which was duly obeyed! Seated on that seat of distinction, he sang and sang about Siva and His glory.

Departing from Madura, he visited many other sacred temples and at last reached Tiruvārūr. There a special entrance into the temple was created for him in the north by God and having entered the temple through it, he praised in melody the glories of Īswara!

After having spent a pretty long time there, he went to Shiyāḷi to meet his teacher Tirugnānasambandamūrthi. Having worshipped him he never parted from him but enjoyed the rare privilege of singing his master's songs to the tune of his stringed instruments.

Finally he gave up his earthly elements at a place called Tirunallūr-Perumanam and reached the feet of Siva.

Tiruneelanakka Nayanar

(Do not commit despicable acts.)

Once there lived in a place called Sāthamaṅgai a Brāhmin named Tiruneelanakka Nāyanār who was a devotee of Siva and an admirer of other devotees like himself. He considered it his duty to entertain the devotees of Siva. That was worth living for and worth dying for he used to maintain.

One day he went into the village temple to worship Īswara there and his wife also went with him carrying the materials for worship. When they were in front of the deity, the lady noticed a spider crawling over it. To remove it from the dearly loved object, she blew over it with her breath.

Not understanding the depth of love which prompted his wife to do such a thing, Tiruneelanakka Nāyanār found fault with her for having polluted the

sacred image with her breath. Not satisfied with mere scolding, he said that he had given her up and would have nothing in future with her.

After her husband's departure from the temple in high displeasure, his wife did not dare to go back to her house but slept in a corner of the temple itself.

While Tiruneelanakka Nāyanār was sleeping in his house, Siva appeared before him in his dream and showed him his whole body which was full of eruptions except for the portion from which the spider was driven away by his wife's breath !

Hearing from Lord Siva Himself of the deep devotion of his wife towards Him and His grace unbounded for her our Nāyanār was filled with joy. Early in the morning he hastened to the temple and after worshipping the deity returned home with his wife.

Shortly after, he met Gyānasambandamūrti Nāyanār who sang praising Tiruneelanakka Nāyanār and his devotion to Īswara.

When Tiruneelanakka Nāyanār, full of love and gratitude for Sambandamūrti, desired to accompany him in his religious tour, he did not permit it. Staying at Tiruvārūr in obedience to Sambandamūrti's order, he was worshipping his sacred feet mentally which act raised him eventually to the regions of eternal bliss.

Kungiliakkalaya Nayanar.

(Do not sell grain at a heavy price.)

Once there lived in Tirukkaḍayūr in the Chōḷa kingdom a Brāhmin devotee of Īswara named Kalayar. He was in the habit of burning incense before Īswara in the temple of the place every day. Sometime after, he was afflicted with poverty; and yet he did not give up this practice but was burning the incense daily as usual getting the money necessary by disposing of everything he had.

When everything he had was disposed of, his children and others depending on him for their livelihood could not get food. On one occasion they all had to starve for two days together and that made our Kalayar's wife part with her marriage-string to buy the wherewithal to keep their bodies and souls together. With the gold string in his possession Kalayar was going to the bazaar to buy foodstuffs in exchange for it when he saw a bag of incense kept exposed in a shop. Powerless to resist the desire to buy that instead of the foodstuff, he exchanged the same for the gold string, and instead of returning to his house went straight to the temple and burnt the incense there thrilling with pleasure.

Having waited for a sufficiently long time expecting the return of her husband loaded with foodstuffs, the poor woman and her sons and relatives went to sleep away their hunger and weariness.

When they awoke refreshed next morning they found to their intense astonishment wealth and plenty everywhere in the house! The miracle thus brought about by Īswara would be clear to our readers.

Kalayar himself was directed by Siva in his dream to hasten home and lead the life of luxury and ease for evermore.

Sometime after, coming to know that the Liṅgam at Tiruppanandāl was in a leaning posture and that all attempts made by the king of the country to set the same erect had proved ineffectual, Kalayar went thither and by virtue of his intense devotion succeeded in effecting what the king was unable to do! We have in the temple at Tiruppanandāl model figures of this devotee along with his wife and son.

Having returned to Tirukkaḍayūr he spent the last days of his life there. After having entertained the saints Sambandar and Tirunāvukkarasu and obtained their blessing, he eventually reached the sacred feet of Īswara.

On the north wall of the first *prākāra* of the Arunajaṭēswara temple at Tiruppanandāl (Tanjore district), is an inscription which records a gift of land for offerings to the images of Tirukkaḍayūr Kuṅgiliyakkalaya Nāyanār, who is said to have turned the face of the deity to its normal position from which it had previously been diverted by the Lord's desire to save Tataki's shame, and other Saiva devotees in the temple at Tiruppanandāl!

Kulachirai Nayanar.

(Do not walk in unapproved path.)

In a place called Maṇamērkuḍi in the country of Pāṇḍyan (now in the Tanjore district), there lived a devotee of Īswara by name Kulachirai. It mattered not for him whether one was high born or low born, good or bad. If he but put on the marks of a Siva's devotee or sang verses in his praise he was sure to be welcomed by him. The devotees going to him either singly or in company were received with great reverence and looked after. During his lifetime, many a devotee was fed and clothed and in other ways also helped.

The one delight of this Kulachirai Nāyanār was the contemplation of the glory of Īswara.

He was the prime-minister of the Pāṇḍyan King Neḍumārar and the queen Maṅgayarkarasiray who was also a devotee of Īswara had, on various occasions, the earnest co-operation of this saintly being in most of her undertakings.

He worked hard to undermine the then rapidly spreading *Samana* faith and in establishing on a firm basis the true faith of Siva's followers throughout the length and breadth of the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom. In this connection he invoked the blessings of Tirugyānasambandar who after having defeated

the *Samanas* had them impaled to serve as a warning to all the followers of the false faith.

His deep devotion to Siva and his devotees and his earnest work in the cause of the religion of Siva procured him Siva's grace and blessings. Having lived a life of real service to Īswara and his followers, he reached the realms of bliss eternal and was assigned a place there with the other *Bhaktas*.

Mangayarkarasiyar.

(Indulge not in the play over water.)

The name of this female devotee and some of her doings have been touched upon when detailing the life of Neḍumāra Nāyanār in a previous chapter. She was the daughter of king Chōḷa and the wife of the famous saint Neḍumāra Nāyanār. Her teacher Sambandar had sung in praise of her zeal and devotion to Īswara at Tiruvārūr. Having done her best for the spread of the true faith of the followers of Siva, with the aid of her husband in the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom, and after having cut the religion of the *Samanas* (Jainas) at its roots, she had attained salvation.

Nedumara Nayanar.

(Let there be no weakness in your speech.)

In Madura, the capital city of the Pāṇḍyan line of Kings, there lived one by name Kun-Pāṇḍyan. Coming under the influence of the *Samanas* (Jainas) he embraced Jainism. A born hunchback he was nicknamed Kūn-Pāṇḍyan meaning the Pāṇḍyan hunchback. On account of his extreme good fortune he had for his wife Maṅgayarkarasi, the daughter of the King Chōḷa, and for his minister Kulachirai Nāyanār whose life has been sketched before.

At the request of these two, Sambanda Mūrthi, the famous devotee of Īswara, visited him, touched him with his holy hand and smeared the sacred ashes over him at which his hump on the back disappeared! From this incident and ever afterwards he was given the name of Nedumāṛa Nāyanār.

He fought bravely with the Kings from the north, who attacked him in the battlefields at Tinnevelly, and won a great victory over them. Having renounced the *Samana* faith, which he was convinced was not the true faith, he embraced the true faith of the devotees of Īswara. After a pretty long reign, during which he did much to spread the new faith he had embraced, he was gathered to the abode of the true *Bhaktas* of Īswara.

Gananatha Nayanar.

(Stop not good actions fearing bodily pain.)

There lived in former days in Shiyāḷi a Brāhman devotee of Īswara named Gananāthar. He was in the habit of rendering service to the devotees of Īswara and worshipping the presiding God of the place. He would also

influence others and make them open flower gardens to be of use for making garlands for Īswara to wear. Many were induced to open rest houses for Siva's devotees who were also given free food and clothing. Arrangements were also made to light in the temples innumerable lamps which act was considered to be specially pleasing and acceptable to Siva.

Ever ready to do service to Siva's devotees, he not only revered the devotees but also induced many to become devotees of Īswara like himself.

His admiration for Sambandar and his devotion to Īswara was so great that he became his ardent worshipper. In course of time, the merit acquired by him in the service of Īswara grew strong enough to uplift him to higher regions to enjoy eternal bliss there.

Ilayankudimarar.

(Cease not to exert with a will.)

In a place called Iḷayāṅkuḍi there lived an agriculturist, Māranār by name, belonging to the Veḷḷaḷa caste. He was a deep devotee of Siva and had pledged to feed to the best of his ability other devotees of Īswara whom he might meet.

Many were fed and clothed while he was in affluent circumstances with the fullest help from his wife in his laudable undertaking.

Desiring not only to subject the couple to a test but also to proclaim to the world the strength of their will in this direction, Siva slowly but surely brought about the loss of everything that Māranār stood possessed of.

Selling this to meet the expenses of one day and selling that to meet the expenses of another day our Nāyanār lost almost all of his property and yet he did not give up feeding any devotee of Siva whom he could meet.

One day it was raining heavily and he could not go out of his hut. As there was nothing inside the house to satisfy the hunger, the couple had made up their minds to remain foodless. After the night had fallen, feeling thoroughly tired out with hunger, they bolted the entrance door to their hut and were about to retire for the night—if lying on the floor may be called by that dignified expression—when a tap was heard from outside. Hastening to the door, our Nāyanār quickly withdrew the bolt and opened it. When he saw a devotee of Siva—who was none but Siva himself in disguise—standing outside drenched to the skin and shivering with cold and hunger, he was deeply moved. Having taken him inside, he managed to make him as comfortable as his poor circumstances would permit him.

When he found that his guest was very hungry, he did not know what to do. There was nothing in the house and getting help from others was out of the question. There was only one course left to procure food for the

poor devotee of Īswara and that was to gather the grain that had been sown in his field that morning and make the best use of it possible, and he did that.

Going to the field, he found it knee deep in water. Gathering in the basket he had brought the paddy floating on the water, he hastened home and handed it to his wife to prepare food with it.

A portion of the hut provided them with the materials to kindle a fire and ere long the grain was fried and turned into rice which was soon cooked. A few greens from the backyard skilfully managed furnished a side-dish for the rice.

When the poor meal was ready, the devotee was roused from his seeming slumber and requested to partake of the meal when lo! the couple found in the place of the devotee Lord Siva Himself in his wonderful effulgence and glory!

Having blessed them and after having promised them eternal bliss after death, Lord Siva disappeared into darkness again.

Amarneethi Nayanar.

(Feed others before feeding yourself.)

In a place called Paḻayārai in the Chōḷa Kingdom there lived a wealthy devotee of Īswara named Amarneethi belonging to the Vaisya community. His one delight consisted in finding out the needy devotees of Siva and relieving their wants. Many were the devotees fed and clothed by him. On one occasion at a place called Nallūr near Pāpanāsam in the Tanjore district a sacred place for the worship of Siva, he had a choultry built wherein the devotees of Īswara were freely fed during the festival of the deity.

One day Īswara, disguised as a Brāhmin bachelor, with the necessary appendages came to that choultry. Amarneethi, with a similing countenance and filled with pleasure, welcomed him and requested him to partake of the dinner getting ready for the Brāhmin devotees by specially engaged Brāhmin cooks.

The bachelor accepted the invitation but desired to have a bath in the Kāvēri river first. So he entrusted one of the two towels he had with him to our Amarneethi Nāyanār with special injunctions to take particular care of the same since it was not only very precious but also was dry to be ready for use in case the one he had round his loins was wet on his return from the river after bath. Amarneethi kept the same in a particular place and was attending to his work till the bachelor returned.

Soon after his return when Amarneethi requested the bachelor to come for meals he said that his loin cloth was wet and desired to have the dry one left with him. Amarneethi searched for it everywhere in vain. It had disappeared in a miraculous manner!

• At a loss to know what to do, he came back to his guest and told him of the loss of the loin cloth left with him. Though he was ready to give any kind of cloth he might choose to ask in place of the one lost, the sham bachelor would not be pacified. He accused our Amarneethi of having purposely cheated him of his loin cloth under cover of one bestowing loin cloths on the devotees of Īswara. His pretence of such an action was only to get his loin cloth which he knew was priceless.

What would Amarneethi do? To pacify his guest, he promised to do whatever he asked him to do.

The bachelor at last relented and consented to take in place of the cloth cost, one that would be equal in weight to it.

Questioned as to how the weight of the cloth lost was to be determined, the guest produced another he had with him and which he said was an exact replica of the lost one in every respect.

A scale was then produced and in one pan this cloth was placed and on the other another piece of loin cloth. Finding the cloth of his guest heavier, Amarneethi placed cloth after cloth to make the weight equal but to no purpose! Then everything which Amarneethi possessed was thrown into the scale pan and yet the cloth belonging to the bachelor was found heavier.

Then at last with the permission of the guest, Amarneethi, his wife and son stood on the scale pan praying to the Almighty that if they were true in their devotion they must come out successful; and then only the weights on both the pans were found to be equal at which every one marvelled and began to praise Amaraneethi!

Meanwhile the bachelor had disappeared and in his stead there stood Lord Siva Himself in all His glory!

Having blessed His devotee, his wife and son with the boon that they might remain for ever in His presence on mount Kailās, He vanished from view and we need not add that His devotee also vanished with Him in company with his wife and son as the scale began to soar high in the air to reach the abode of Siva in Kailās!

Eribhakta Nayanar.

(Tread on the path of virtue.)

Long ago when Karūr was the capital city of the Chōḷa Kingdom, there was a devotee of Lord Pasupathīsvara of the place wherein the temple cars had *yantras* to put up flags and screens. He was ever ready to succour the devotees of Īswara whenever they were in difficulties. He would cut in two those who gave offence to any of the devotees of Siva.

During his time there was a *Bhakta* named Sivakāmi Āṇḍār who

was in the daily habit of weaving garlands of flowers to decorate the image of Pasupathīswara.

One day he went out as usual and after his daily bath entered the flower garden and filled his crib with the choicest flowers. Having suspended the basket at the end of his stick, he was walking briskly towards the temple to get the garlands ready in time to be used in decorating the deity. This happened on the last day of the *Navarātri* festival.

The royal elephant was coming towards him and in a vicious mood it wrenched the basket of flowers from him and scattered the contents about.

Blazing with anger Sivakāmi Āṇḍar ran after the elephant with a view to take revenge on it; but urged by the drivers it was too quick for him and soon was lost to the view.

While he was bemoaning the mishap full of grief for having been deprived of the pleasure of decorating his deity with garlands of flowers on that day Eribhakta Nāyanār chanced to go over there.

Moved with pity at the distress of this staunch devotee of Īswara Eribhakta, the moment he came to know of the cause of his distress, drew out his weapon of chastisement and ran in pursuit of the state elephant.

Overtaking it shortly, he fell upon it and caused severe wounds. Provoked by this unexpected attack the elephant turned round upon Eribhakta who however succeeded in cutting off its trunk which resulted in its death. He then killed the drivers also before his anger cooled down.

Meanwhile the news of the destruction of the state elephant and its drivers was brought to the King Puhazhthunai who waxing wrath advanced against the offender with a mighty army.

Arriving at the place of occurrence he noticed only Eribhakta, contrary to his expectation of a mighty warrior, commanding a big army! When he was told that Eribhakta was the offender, he was filled with apprehension and fear. He knew that he was a deep devotee of Siva and that he would not have killed the elephant unless it had deserved death.

Thanking his stars that it was not worse than what it was and that his elephant by having killed this devotee also had not made him a greater sinner, he dismounted from his horse and approached Eribhakta. Making a low obeisance to him, he begged his pardon and obtained from him particulars concerning the slaughter of the elephant and its drivers.

When the charges against the elephant and its drivers were made known to him the King felt his sin so much that he desired Eribhakta Nāyanār to put him also to death handing him his sword for the purpose.

Fearing that the King in his then state of repentance might kill himself with his sword, Eribhakta took it from him and praised him highly for his

conduct. Then feeling that he had offended a King, who was of such noble qualities and virtues, Eribhakta wanted to kill himself using the King's sword to atone for the fault committed. But the King succeeded in preventing him from doing so.

Then there came a voice from the sky which said that the scattering of the flowers by the elephant and the subsequent events were brought about by Īswara himself to show to the world the intense devotion towards him and his devotees of the two saints—Eribhakta Nāyanār and Sivakāmi Āṇḍār.

By the grace of Siva the basket was found to be full of flowers and the elephant and its drivers were restored to life and activity !

Enadhi Nayanar.

(Do not neglect the study of scriptures.)

There lived in Yēmānūr in the Chōḷa Kingdom a saint named Yēnādhi Nāyanār. He was a specialist in the art of fencing with swords and he devoted what he got by imparting that knowledge to others for the benefit of Siva's devotees.

There was in that place another master in the same art of fencing named Adhisooran and he too was following the profession, but his income was very poor when compared with that of his rival Yēnādhi Nāyanār.

Filled with envy Adhisooran one day advanced against Yēnādhi with a number of skilled fencers and Yēnādhi's disciples and relatives skilled in the use of the weapons of warfare mustered in strong numbers to give battle.

Then Adhisooran proposed that only the victor in the ensuing battle should be the instructor in that place in the art of fencing. Yēnādhi Nāyanār consenting, *ukase* went forth from both sides to commence the battle. Adhisooran sustained defeat at the hands of Yēnādhi Nāyanār and fled from the field of battle. This defeat only made him sullen and miserable and in the end he made up his mind to kill Yēnādhi by cunning. He sent word to him secretly and challenged him for single combat with him at a retired spot. Yēnādhi readily fell in with the scheme, preceded by his rival and was awaiting his arrival there.

Meanwhile Adhisooran coming to know of the fact that Yēnādhi would not harm a devotee of Īswara assumed the guise of such a one behind a coverlet to be dropped at the opportune moment and advanced towards him. When Yēnādhi stepped forward to slay him at the right moment, the coverlet was skilfully dropped by Adhisooran who appeared before him in the guise of a devotee of Siva. He stayed his hand which was about to slay the man before him but he was himself slain by his opponent. Be it also said here that Yēnādhi, considering the fact that Adhisooran by the mere fact of

assuming the guise of a devotee of Siva had actually become such a one, made a show of resisting his rival since he would, if he slew him unresisting, have become a sinner who had killed an unresisting rival.

This unparalleled noble act of Yēnādhi carried him to the lotus feet of his deity Īswara.

Rudrapasupathi Nayanar.

(Be careful in choosing your friend.)

In a place called Talayūr in the Chōḷa Kingdom, there lived a Brāhmin devotee of Īswara named Pasupathi. With his mind always centred in the deity of his heart's devotion and love, he was always in ecstasy the fruit of the selfless *Bhakti* or devotion to the ideal perfected being, called Īswara.

To test the strength of his mind and to train it to remain fixed on the image of his Lord, he used to subject his body to hardships of different kinds. His one desire was to make the mind chained as it was to God, deaf to external impacts like the bodily pains or the objects of attraction to the senses. He would be fain deaf to the 'Bellowing of the wild elephants or the buzzing of the silver fire-fly' as one has graphically put it.

To gain the end in view, he in seasons of biting cold would remain for hours together plunged to neck in ice-cold water of tanks and rivers. His mind, accustomed as it was to ignore communications of discomfort from the body, would not feel anything at all but the feelings of ecstasy resulting from its union with God it was contemplating incessantly. To help him in keeping the mind chained as it were to Īswara, he would, even when in water, be repeating the sacred incantation going by the name *Rudram* delighted in by Īswara.

This one-pointed devotion is said to have gained for our Pasupathi eternal bliss—the goal of all *Mukthas* or souls of liberated human beings.

Kurruva Nayanar.

(Do not rob others' property.)

In Tirukkaḷandaipathi there lived a devotee of Īswara named Kūrruvar. He knew the right mode of pronouncing the *pañchākshara* or the word of five letters delighted in by Siva who bestowed on him vast wealth, a powerful army and unparalleled valour in fighting.

He fought with many kings and had won victories after victories. He had everything but the crown of a ruler and he determined to have even that. He approached the *Dikshadars* of Chidambaram and asked them to crown him a king. They said in reply that they would crown only a descendant of the Chōḷa dynasty of kings.

Having appointed one among them to guard the crown, they proceeded to the kingdom of king Chēra.

Meanwhile, Kūrruvar fell asleep in deep dejection after having prayed fervently to Īswara that dances at the holy Chidambaram.

Filled with pity at the deep dejection in which his devotee had fallen, Siva appeared before him in his dream and gave him his sandals.

Having placed them on the throne in place of the ruler our Nāyanār was carrying on the administration of the country.

After having visited several places held sacred to Siva, he eventually reached the realms of eternal bliss.

Seruthunai Nayanar.

(Do not injure others.)

At one time there lived in Tanjore city, under the sway of the Toṇḍamān rulers, a Veḷḷaḷa devotee of Īswara named Siruthunai Nāyanār. Once he came to the famous religious centre Tiruvārūr and was for some time engaged in the services of Vanmeeka Nāthar, the presiding deity of the temple there, and was executing repairs to that temple.

An ardent worshipper of Īswara, he one day noticed the queen of the royal devotee of Siva-Kaḻarchiṅga Nāyanār inhaling the fragrance of a flower intended for the use of Siva. He grew angry at this act of hers since he considered it highly sacrilegious and taking out his knife cut off her nose.

Having accumulated great merit by various acts of unselfish devotion he at last secured the holy feet of the Almighty.

Kochchaigan Chola Nayanar.

(Drink several literature deep.)

Once there was a wild garden near a place called "Chandra Tīrtham," now a tank within the temple at Sriraṅgam, in the country of the Chōḷa line of kings. In that garden, there was a *Jambu* tree yielding white fruits of the species.

On one occasion, a Siva-Liṅgam had appeared on the surface of the earth in the shade of this tree. A white elephant had come to know of this, and was in the habit of worshipping it daily, bringing water in its trunk for bathing it and bringing flowers from the trees and plants for decorating it. Because of these doings of the elephant the place came to be known as *Tiru-Ānai-kāval.*

A garden spider, living on the *Jambu* tree desiring to prevent dry leaves falling from the tree over the Liṅgam it loved dearly, wove a web over the same on a particular day. When the elephant noticed it, it brushed it aside with its trunk considering it to be an undesirable thing.

The spider wove a web for the second time thinking that the first one

was destroyed by the elephant not wantonly but in a careless mood. When it found that even its second work was brushed aside, it grew angry. It managed to enter into its trunk and bite the elephant therefrom, and as a result of its bite in the tender parts, the elephant died having dashed its trunk in the ground.

The elephant reached the abode of Siva on account of the merit it had gained by the worship of the Liṅgam while the spider that had perished by the last dying action of the elephant was born as child to the king and queen of the Chōḷa kingdom named respectively Subadēvan and Kamalavathi, who were worshipping Naṭarāja in the temple at Chidambaram for a long time.

There was also a short history attached to the birth of the child. While the queen was in labour pains, the astrologers had said that a few minutes' delay in the birth of the child would make the child famous by the peculiar conjunction of the planets then.

The birth of the child was delayed a few minutes by force which resulted in the child being born withr ed eyes ! The queen seeing the child with red eyes said that her child was *Sengannan* and breathed her last. He was then given the name uttered by its dying mother namely " *Sengannan* " or " the one with red eyes."

This child grew on apace and at the proper age remembered its past life as a spider. Having built many temples in his kingdom and dedicated them to Siva, inclusive of the one at Jambukēswaram he worshipped Naṭarāja also at Chidambaram, gave gifts of houses to the worshippers of Natarāja there, and after death gained salvation and a place near the person of Īswara.

The ancient Tamil work "*Kaḷavazhi Nārpadu*" consisting of 41 stanzas is said to have been composed by a poet of the Chēra king Kaṇaikālirumpoṛai when he was defeated and imprisoned in the battle at Kazhumalam (Shiyāḷi in the district of Tanjore) by this Chōḷa king Kōchcheṅgannan in order that the Chēra king may be released from jail and that on hearing the poem Kōchcheṅgannan was pleased to order the imprisoned king being released forthwith !

On the west wall of the second *prākāra* of the great temple at Jambukēswaram near Trichinopoly is a record of the Pāṇḍya king Kō-Māravarman *alias* Kulasēkharadēva, dated in his tenth year (5th January 1278 A. D.) referring to a street called after the presiding God there who transferred a spider into this king !

Sittattai Sivanpal Vaithar (Yogis or devotees with minds centred in Siva.)

(Be not led by women.)

Who has his mind centred in Īswara incessantly ? The answer to this query is given below.

The *Yōgis* of old have stated that the suppression of the inspiration and expiration is the first step to be taken by one aspiring to this title. The inspired air should be retained poised in the centre which is, in philosophical parlance, said to be the *Nāḍi Sushumuna*. The mind ought to have been weaned away from the objects of senses and centred in only one. He should also hear and know the sound emanating from the six main centres of the body and comprehend their presiding deities and worship them. He should then develop the thousand-petalled centre by proper cantations which would give him immortality and eternal bliss.

Tiruvarur Pirandar. Those born in Tiruvarur.

(Forget not past friendship for trifling mistakes.)

Siva, one of the trinity of the Hindus, has his *Ganas* or hosts and hosts of attendants. How does he recruit souls for this magnificent assembly ? His process seems to be simplicity itself. Every soul had at first a place in the bosom of Īswara. Therefore each one has had past friendship with him. The difference between devotees and others is that the former knows this relationship while the latter do not.

All those that are born in the centre Tiruvārūr, specially favourable for the drawing out the past memory and do not lose sight of their kinship with Īswara, become Siva's *Ganas* or followers after departing this life.

Muppozhudhum Tirumeni Tinduvar (Priests)

(Do not by avarice lose even what you have.)

At the time of the Genesis and of the cosmos five great *Rishis* were born out of darkness. They were the followers of Siva from the very commencement. Their names were Kausikar, Kāsyapar, Bhārathwājar, Gauthama, and Agasthyar.

These five '*Ādhi Saivas*,' or the first followers of the faith of Siva, are the first persons that went by the name of Muppozhuthum Tirumēni Tīnḍuvār.

Those that have the characteristics of any one of them in full may come under such a classification of *Bhaktas* or devotees.

Muzhuniru Poosiya Munivar (Holy-Ash Wearers)

(Resolve upon good deeds.)

At the beginning of the creation, there arose out of the causeless reservoir behind, three *Vibhuthas* or prosperities. They were called *Kalpam*, *Anu-kalpam* and *Upa-kalpam*. These three prosperities are represented by holy ashes prepared or taken before Siva, or one's preceptor in religion. Those that wear these properly when pure come under this classification of *Bhaktas*.

Appalum Adichandhar (Those that gained Salvation before and after these Saints)

(Do what is regarded as proper by the world.)

Who are those that come under the distinction of Appālum Aḍichāndhār? The wise have laid it down as given under :—

Chēra, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya were the three rulers of the country of the Tamilians. The devotees that had during their time gained salvation came under this classification of *Bhaktas* as also the followers of Siva described in the life of service of *Tiru-Toṇḍar*. Further the *Bhaktas* who had gained salvation immediately before and after this famous saint devotee (Sundarar) are also called Appālum Aḍichāndhār.

ON A BIRD-MYTH FROM THE DISTRICT OF SYLHET IN EASTERN BENGAL.

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THE Indian Cuckoo (*Cuculus micropterus*) is a bird which is familiar to the people of Bengal. It is also well known in other parts of India. It is commonly found in Bengal and Northern India, the Himalayas, and Central India. It extends through Assam and Burma to the Malay Peninsula. A few of the vernacular names of this bird are very curious. In Bengali it is called "*Bau Katha Kau*" or "*Bau Kota Ko*" which, rendered into English, means "O daughter-in-law, speak out." The people residing in and about the Mussoorie Hills call this bird by the name "*Kyphul pakka*" which, I think, most probably means "What fruit has ripened?" To the denizens of the Chumbi Valley, this bird is known by the appellation of "*Kupul pukki*" which is, to my mind, identical with the name given to it by the people of the Mussoorie Hills and has, therefore, the same significance in English. The names by which this bird is known to the inhabitants of Bengal and the Mussoorie Hills have been derived from its fine melodious call-note to which they bear a striking similarity. Most likely, this bird is alluded to by Bishop Heber when, in his celebrated poem *An Evening Walk in Bengal*, he says:—"And what is she whose liquid strain thrills through yon copse of sugarcane? I know that soul-entrancing swell! It is—it must be—Philomel!"

In the district of Sylhet in Eastern Bengal, this bird is called the "Kāṅṭhāl pākhī" or "the Jack-fruit Bird". It is so called because it appears and begins to utter its fine melodious whistle in the Bengali months of Baisākha (April-May) and Jaishṭha (May-June), that is to say, just during the time when the jack-fruit begins to ripen. Its call-note is heard till the month of Śrāvaṇa (July-August).

Whenever this bird utters its call-note, little children, in the district of Sylhet in Eastern Bengal, recite, at the top of their voices, the following verse:—

"*Kāṇṭāla pākhī nāiora jāitey*
Bhāikey Khāila banera bāghey"

OR

'When the "Jack-fruit Bird" was going to (her) paternal home,
(A) tiger of the forest killed (*lit.*, ate) (her) brother."

This verse alludes to the following myth which is connected with this bird and which is current in the district of Sylhet in Eastern Bengal:—

In the ancient times, the "Jack-fruit Bird" was a human being. A middle-class householder had a son and a daughter. The daughter was the elder of the two children. She was married to a person whose house was situated at a great distance from her paternal home. After her marriage, the brother and the sister did not meet each other for a long time. Therefore, one day in the months of Baisākha (April-May) and Jaishṭha (May-June) when the mangoes and jack-fruits had ripened, her

brother, accompanied by another man, went with some presents to his sister's husband's house. She was greatly delighted to see her brother after such a long time and expressed a desire to pay a visit to her parental home in order to see her parents. Having obtained the permission of her parents-in-law, she, accompanied by her brother, started homewards. She was carried in a palanquin by bearers, while her brother trudged on foot alongside the litter. The road homewards lay through a mountainous tract of country. On both margins of this road there lay impenetrable forests. These deep jungles were uninhabited by human beings but were infested by wild beasts of prey. There were no villages close by these forests. While they were going along this road, a tiger came out of the forest all of a sudden. Seeing the tiger, the palki-bearers fled away, leaving the little brother and sister to their fate. Having been deserted by the palki-bearers, the brother and sister clasped each other's neck and stood their ground. The tiger, however, seized the brother and killed him, while he did no injury whatever to his sister, clasping her deceased brother's neck. She wept bitterly for some time and, then, died of a broken heart. Hearing the sister's heart-rending cries, God took pity on her and transformed her into a bird. To this day, however, she gives vent to her deep feelings of grief at her brother's tragic death, by flying about and singing the following verse :—

Kāñṭāla pākhī nāiora jāitey.
Bhāikey Khāila banera bāghey."

It is further stated that many women living in the district of Sylhet, on hearing the "Jack-fruit Bird's" call-note, still weep in remembrance of their deceased brothers.*

The most noteworthy feature of this interesting bird-myth from Sylhet is the fact of God's metamorphosing the girl into a bird.

I do not know, however, whether there are similar instances, in Indian folklore, of human beings, especially female ones, having been transformed by God into birds.

[Should persons interested in the study of Indian folklore come across instances of bird-myths similar to that from Sylhet, which may be current in other parts of Eastern Bengal or, for the matter of that, in Western Bengal and other parts of India, it is highly desirable that they should record the same and communicate them to the writer of these pages.]

If we, however, examine the folklore of the Malays, we find that there are several instances of such metamorphosis in their bird-lore. Among these is included the following pathetic bird-myth :—

There is a species of ground-pigeon which the Malays call *Tekukur*. Regarding this bird, the undermentioned myth is related by them.

Once upon a time, a girl lived in the forest with her parents and little sister. When she grew up, she became very anxious to accompany her father to the forest a patch of which he was engaged in clearing for a rice-plantation. But her parents put her off several times on various excuses. This displeased her so much that, one day, she took off her bracelets and ear-rings and, putting them behind the door

* *Vide* the Bengali monthly magazine *Prabāsī* (published from Calcutta) for *Śravaṇa*, 1329 B.S., (July-August 1922), pp. 554-555.

and placing her little sister in a swinging cot, transformed herself into a ground-pigeon and flew away to the clearing. Arrived there, she informed her mother of the place where she had kept the bracelets and ear-rings, as also of the fact that she had put her little sister to bed in the swinging-cot. Hearing these words, her mother became greatly astonished, hurried home, and, to her great sorrow, found that her daughter had disappeared. When she returned to the bird, the latter repeated to her mother the same words once more, and finished them by cooing like a dove. The sorrow-stricken parents tried their best to capture her. But all their efforts to do so proved fruitless as the bird flew off further and further, eluding their pursuit.[1]

Take the case of another bird—the night-jar. The Malays call it *Burong cheroh*. This name is derived from the word *Cheroh* which means "the process of pounding, for the second time, the unhusked rice in a mortar with a pestle". The Malays imagine that this bird's call-note resembles the slow measured thud of a pestle as it falls inside the cavity of the mortar. This fanciful idea has given rise to the Malay myth that the night-jar was originally a woman. While she was husking rice by moonlight, she was metamorphosed into this bird, because she had quarrelled with her mother.[2]

Then again a certain species of honey-bird or bee-eater is called *Burong sepah putri* (or "princess's betel-quid") by the Malays. It is remarkable for the brilliant metallic lustre of its plumage. This name is derived from the following myth which is related by the Malays in connection with this bird: Once upon a time, the Owl (*Ponggok*) loved the Princess of the Moon (*Putri Bulan*) and proposed marriage to her. She agreed to marry him provided he gave her time to finish her quid of betel without anybody disturbing her. Her request was granted. But, before finishing it, she flung the quid down to the earth where it assumed the shape of the honey-bird in question. She, then, asked her lover to search for it. But he was unable to find it. Therefore the proposed marriage fell through. It is for this reason that the Owl, in the words of the Malay proverb, "sighs longingly to the Moon".[3]

The Argus Pheasant (*Argus giganteus*)—called *Knan* by the Malays of Malacca and Selangor—is stated by them to have originally been a woman. She was subsequently transformed into this bird for some unknown reason.[4]

There is yet another kind of bird which the Malays call *Baran-Caran*. They recite the following myth in relation to this bird. It was originally a midwife. After having once been employed by some people, they refused to pay her wages promptly and put her off from time to time. On the last occasion that she was refused payment, she lost all patience and burst into a volley of abuse levelled at her employers. While she was doing so, she was metamorphosed into this bird whose querulous call-note is said to resemble the shrill voice of the old woman with which she demanded the payment of her just dues.[5]

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1 *Malay Magic.* By N. W. Skeat, London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1900, Pages 126-127.
2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 121-122.
3 *Op.cit.*, p. 122.
4 *Op. cit.*, p. 123.
5 *Op. cit.*, p. 131.

I think that the foregoing examples from the folklore of the Malays will suffice to convince the reader of the fact that the fanciful idea of certain women having been metamorphosed into different kinds of birds is one of the noteworthy characteristics of their bird-lore. I, therefore, desist from adducing further instances thereof.

Then returning to India, we shall examine the folklore of the hill tribes of Assam. Take, for instance, the Garo tribe. They are a branch of the Tibe-to-Burman family and number a little more than one hundred thousand souls. They live in the dense irregular mass of hills of low elevation which are situated to the west of the Khasi Hills.

On examining the folk-lore of this wild tribe, we find that there is current among them the folk-tale of "*The Story of the Doves.*" It is to the following effect :—

A rich man had four daughters of whom the eldest two were named Awil and Sangwil. They were very much disliked by their grandmother who often made false accusations against them to their parents. In consequence of these lying complaints, their mother used to beat them mercilessly.

Having, one day, heard a false accusation against them from their grandmother, their mother confined Awil and Sangwil in a room and kept them starving for a long time. Getting disgusted with this cruel treatment at the hands of their mother, the two sisters metamorphosed themselves into doves. At first, they flew to their mother who was working in the field and, in cooing notes, informed her of the wrongs that had been done to them on the lying complaints of their grandmother. The same thing they repeated to their father who had gone to the market.

Having heard the doves' notes of complaint, the parents hastened home and were grieved to find that their two eldest daughters had disappeared. Returning to the birds, the sorrow-stricken parents told them to re-assume their human forms. But they refused to do this.* [With the rest of this folk-tale, we are not concerned for the purposes of this paper.]

It will be seen that this folk-tale bears a striking similarity to the Malay myth about the girl who was transformed into the ground-dove.

I have not been able to come across any similar myth about the metamorphosis of a girl into a bird, in the folk-lore of the Khasis, the Nagas, the Kukis and Lushais, the Mikirs and other hill tribes of Assam.

Then going to Europe, we find that, in the mythology of the ancient Greeks, there are a few instances in which girls were transformed into birds.

Chief among these is the metamorphosis of Alcyone or Halcyone, daughter of Æolus. She had married Ceyx who was drowned while he was going to consult the Oracle. The gods informed her, in a dream, of her husband's tragic death. When, on the next morning, she discovered her husband's body lying on the sea-beach, she was stricken with violent grief and cast herself into the sea. Thereafter she, with her husband, was metamorphosed into birds of the same name who keep the waters calm and undisturbed when they build their nests on the surface of the sea and sit on them.

* *The Garos.* By Major Playfair. London : David Nutt, 1909, pp. 119—128.

. [Mark the remarkable similarity between this Greek myth and that from Sylhet. In both of them, the gods take pity on the sorrow-stricken girls and, in order to relieve them of their grief, transformed them into birds.]

Then again there is the Greek myth relating to the metamorphosis of the girl named Philomela into that "light-winged Dryad of the trees"—the nightingale. The legend runs thus:—

Tereus, king of Daulis and son of Ares, married Procne, daughter of Pandion king of Attica. On one occasion, Tereus falsely informed his wife's sister Philomela that Procne was dead, while the latter had only been concealed. Procne, however, came to know of the deception that had been practised by her husband upon her sister and, out of revenge killed her son Itys, and fed Tereus with his flesh. Thereafter she fled with her sister Philomela. But Tereus pursued them. During the course of this pursuit, the gods metamorphosed Philomela into a nightingale, Procne into a swallow, and Tereus into a hoopoe.

[Note the one point of similarity between this Greek myth and that from Sylhet. In the former, the girl Philomela is changed into a well-known singing bird of Europe—the nightingale; while, in the latter, the sorrow-stricken girl is metamorphosed into that familiar and highly-prized song-bird of the Indian country side—"the jack-fruit bird" or the Indian cuckoo.]

In discussing the subject of myths about the metamorphosis of girls or maidens into birds, we are naturally led to the theme of Swan-maidens who are, in reality, women dressed in feather tunics.

Myths or legends of these Swan-maidens are current in Sweden, Russia, Germany, and the Shetland Islands—in fact, throughout Europe, Asia and Africa.

The story radical of myths or folk-tales of the "Swan-maiden Type" is as follows:—

1. A man sees a woman bathing, after having doffed and placed her charmed feather-dress on the shore.

2. He steals this dress of feather; and she falls into his power.

3. He marries her; but, after some years, she succeeds in recovering her feather-dress, and she flies away.

4. As a rule, he is unable to recover her.

The most notable instance of a myth of the "Swan-maiden Type" is to be found in the tale of Hassan in the *Arabian Nights*. In this story, it is stated that, on unlocking the forbidden door, he sees ten birds who are, in reality, ten beautiful maidens dressed in feather-suits. These feather-dresses are put off by them when they bathe.

Various and manifold are the guises assumed by these bird-maidens. In Finland, they assume the form of geese; in other places that of ducks; in Bohemia, Persia and the island of Celebes (in the Indian Archipelago), that of doves, amongst the Magyars and in South Smaland, that of pigeons; and in Guinea and amongst the American Indians, that of vultures.*

* *An Introduction to Folk-lore*, by M. R. Cox. New edition, London: David Nutt, pp. 120-121. Also *vide* C. S. Burne's *The Handbook of Folk-lore* (Edition of 1914), p. 344.

THE AGE OF BHARAVI AND DANDIN OR THE LITERARY HISTORY OF THE PALLAVA PERIOD.

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THE date of the Poet Bharavi has not hitherto been determined to any precise degree. Scholars have come to the opinion that he lived after Kalidasa, but they could not tell how long after Kalidasa he came. This does not help the student of literature very much, because students of literature are not sure about the date of Kalidasa himself who is placed in various periods from the first and second century B.C. to the period of Chandragupta II and Kumaragupta of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty and that of Yasodharman who rose to power after the Guptas. But they were sure about the latter limit of his period. The Aihole inscription of the W. Chalukya, Pulakesin II dated A.D. 634 says that the fame of the author of the charter of Ravikirti in poetry was equal to that of the famous poets Kalidasa and Bharavi. The genuineness of this inscription [1] has not been questioned by any scholar and therefore the date of Bharavi was considered by all scholars to have been before the date of Ravikirti, who was a contemporary of Sri Harsha, Bana and Mayura. But they could not say how long before Sri Harsha Bharavi lived. The epigraphical evidence about the date of Bharavi has not been exhausted with Ravikirti's prasasti in the Aihole inscription. A number of copper-plates belonging to the dynasty of the W. Gangas, while referring to the king Durvinita [2] says that he had commented on fifteen sargas of

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1 येनायोजिनवेश्मास्थिरमर्थविधौविवेकिनाजिनवेश्म ।

सविजयतां रविकीर्तिः कविताश्रितकालिदासभारविकीर्तिः ॥

2 *Epigraphia Carnatica, Tumkur, 23.*

अविनातिनामाश्रीमत्कोंगणिमहाराजः तस्यपुत्रः पुन्नाडराजप्रियपुत्रिकापुत्रः विजृम्भमाणशक्तित्रयोपनमित समस्तसामन्तमण्डलः अण्डय्यालत्तूर्पोरुळरेपर्नगराद्यनेकसमरमुखमखहुतप्रधानपुरुषपशूपहारविघसविहस्तीकृतकृतान्ताग्निमुखः शब्दावतारकारदेवभारतीनिवद्धबृहत्कथः किरातार्जुनीयपञ्चदशसर्गटीकाकारदुर्विनीतनामा ॥

Mysore Archæological Report, 1916, p. 36.

श्रीमत्कोंगणिमहाधिराजस्य अविनीतनाम्नः पुत्रेण पुन्नाटराजस्कन्दवर्म्म प्रियपुत्रिकाजन्मना स्वगुरु गुणानुगामिना पित्रापरसुतसमावर्जितयापि लक्ष्म्या स्वयमभिप्रत्यालिङ्गितविपुलवक्षस्थलेनविजृम्भमाण शक्तित्रयोपनमितसमस्तसामन्तमण्डलेन अण्डय्य आलत्तूरहेरुळरेयपेर्न्नगराद्यनेकसमरमुखमखाहूतप्रपातशूरपुरुषपशूपहारविहस

Kiratarjuniya and translated the Brihatkatha into Sanskrit. On the authority of these inscriptions the date of Bharavi could have been settled with greater precision. But there was a school of Epigraphists beginning with the late Dr. Fleet who held that all these W. Ganga inscriptions which mentioned the work of Bharavi were forged and therefore not genuine. This conclusion of theirs was based upon several grounds, one of which was that according to them the poet Bharavi could not have lived before the king Durvinita. Arguing along this strain they had to dismiss a number of copper-plate charters as forged which otherwise even according to them contained genuine historical information. But all scholars were not convinced about this reasoning of theirs. Mr. Rice, the late Director of Archæology, Mysore, and Mr. R. Narasimhachar whose experience in the line can be said to be second to no one, thought otherwise. They maintained that those inscriptions were genuine and Bharavi according to them had to be placed much earlier than where the other scholars were prepared to place him. He must have been at least contemporary with Durvinita if not earlier.

Again as regards the country where Bharavi lived, there was an equal amount of uncertainty. There was a vague belief that Bharavi must have belonged to the south of India but this belief was not based on any very sound basis. From the way in which Bharavi has described the Sahyadri mountains and the western ocean, some scholars have concluded that he must have belonged to the Mahratta country. This argument can never be very convincing. If, on the strength of the accuracy of Bharavi's description of the Deccan, he is to be considered as a man of the Deccan, we cannot say where Kalidasa is to be placed from a reference to his works in which he has described the several parts of India in the Raghuvamsa while describing the various tracts conquered by Raghu and in the Meghaduta where he traces the course to be followed by the "cloud messenger."

Fortunately for us tradition has not been entirely silent about Bharavi and his life. The following story about Bharavi is given by Mr. L. R. Pangarkar, B.A., in the introduction to his edition of the Kiratarjuniyam. Bharavi was ground down by poverty and being ever immersed in poetic life was often troubled

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विहस्तीकृत कृतान्ताग्निमुखेनशब्दावतारकारेणदेवभारती निबद्धबड्डकथेनकिरातार्जुनीये पञ्चदशसर्गटीकाकारेण दुर्विनीतनामधेयेन ॥

The reference to Sabdavatara in the above extracts was thought to mean that Durvinita's preceptor was the author of Sabdavatara *i.e.*, Pujyapada. But from the second of the two above extracts it is plain that the expression Sabdavatarakara refers to Durvinita himself and not to Durvinita's preceptor. Durvinita must have also been the author of a Sabdavatara.

by the furious remarks of his wife. She once reproached him for his dulness in as much as he did not bestir himself about money and the poet, goaded by necessity and the constant reproaches of his wife, at last set out to try his fortune by seeking royal support. When he had gone a few miles, he saw a beautiful tank. Fatigued by the labours of the journey, he stopped there and wrote the verse सहसाविदधीतनाक्रियां on a lotus leaf. The king, who happened to be near the spot as he had left his palace on a hunt, met the poet and, being very much struck by the beauty of the verse, ordered the poet to see him in his palace at a particular time and galloped off. But the poet mean-looking and dressed in rags could not get admission to the royal presence and went back home in despair. The king however had the verse painted in gold in his private chamber. The story goes on to say how on a particular occasion the king was about to kill his own wife and son while they were asleep as the result of a mistake on his part and was prevented from doing so by reading the verse which was painted in gold before him in that chamber. After that incident the king himself sent word to the poet and made him the poet-laureate of his Court. Again, Bharavi's name is inseparably associated in popular tradition with the name of another famous poet Magha, the author of "Sisupalavadha". Both the poets have drawn their subject-matter from the same source,—the Mahabharata. The arrangement and the order of the descriptions in both the epic poems run on almost the same lines as will be evident by a comparison of the various cantos and their subject-matter. Above all, there is some mystery in the names of these poets. The sole ambition of Magha seems to have been to eclipse the reputation of Bharavi. Bharavi or the bright sun, as the word signifies, is known to lose much of his brightness in the month of Magha and hence Magha is said to have assumed that name simply to indicate that Bharavi turned pale before him. The tradition is evidenced by the following bhatu verse:—

तावद्नाभारवेर्भाति यावन्माघस्यनोदयः ।
उदितेचपुनर्माघे भारवेर्भारवेरिव ॥

The date and place of Bharavi have thus been uncertain. But all these doubts are bound to be set at rest by the discovery of the manuscript of a work called "Avantisundari" by the Madras Oriental MSS. Library. This discovery was made by the Curator and his learned and enthusiastic personal assistant, whose tours have been fruitful in the discovery of very many valuable works which have been thought to be irrecoverably lost.

The work that concerns us at present is the Avantisundarikatha of Dandin. This is a Champu which describes the story of the Dasakumara Charita,

ascribed to Dandin. From what the work says we are led to conclude that the author of the work was Dandin himself. The whole of the first Pariccheda of the six which have been discovered contains an account of the family to which Dandin belonged, the circumstances in which he wrote the work.[3]

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3 अवन्तिसुन्दरीकथा—

अस्तिप्रासादविस्तारग्रस्तव्योमान्तरापुरी ।
काञ्चीपुराख्याकल्याणीककुभांकुम्भजन्मनः ॥
यातत्यविगळद्रोगै रसंख्यवसुभिर्जनैः ।
भोगवत्यमरावत्योर्न्यक्कुर्वाणेवगर्विता ॥
तस्यांजज्ञेबुधव्रातध्वस्ताखिलविपल्लवः ।
पल्लवेषुमहापालःसिंहविष्णुरितिश्रुतः ॥
गरिम्णास्थावरान्सर्वानोजसाजङ्गमानपि ।
योविजिग्येभुजद्राघीविभुश्रानुभयानपि ॥
अदृष्टपूर्वोगन्धर्वः तंसभासदमेकदा ।
उदञ्जलिर्महीपालमुपवीणयदार्यया ॥

दनुजपतिहृदयभूधर
विभेदविज्ञातशक्तिनखकुलिशम ।
जगदुदयहेतुविष्णोः
अवतुवपुर्नारसिंहंवः ॥

श्रुत्वैनामत्युदारार्थां कुतूहलखलीकृतः ।
अब्रवीद्भद्रकेनेयं निर्मितावर्णपद्धतिः ॥
इत्यूचिवानंप्रत्यूचेगन्धर्वस्तंनरेश्वरम् ।
देवस्त्वनुगृहीतोऽस्मिश्रूयतामवधानतः ॥
अस्त्यानन्दपुरंनामप्रदेशेपश्चिमोत्तरे ।
आर्यदेशशिरोरत्नंयत्रासन्बहवोनृपाः ॥
ततोभिनिस्सृताकाचित्कौशिकब्रह्मसन्ततिः ।
सुरलोकादिवायान्तीपुण्यतीर्थसरस्वती ॥
नासिक्यभूमावौत्सुक्यन्मूलदेवन्निवेशिताम् ।
प्राप्याचलपुरं........रीमधिवसत्यसौ ॥
तस्यांनारायणस्वामीनाम्नानारायणोदरात् ।
दामोदरइतिश्रीमान् आदिव ...... वाभवत् ॥
समेधावीकविर्विद्वान्भारविःप्रभवंगराम् ।
अनुरुध्याकरोन्मैत्रीं नरेन्द्रेविष्णुवर्धने ॥
क्षुदाविष्टेनतद्विष्टमामिषंमृगयान्तरे ।
अनिष्टशिष्टंहाकष्टंतेनाभोज्यमभुज्यत ॥

In this account Dandin says that Bharavi was one of his ancestors and narrates a beautiful story about him. In the city of Kanchi in the south of India there was ruling a king of the Pallavas called Simhavishnu who was a great patron of scholars. One day a stranger Gandharva appeared before his

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अगच्छन्नन्तिकंपित्रोः सत्रपःतीर्थयात्रया ।
परं........मापेदेतस्यापिशुभजन्मनः ॥
सदुर्विनीतनामासीदन्वर्थाभिधानवान् ।
तस्यान्तिकेवसत्येषः तेनार्येयमुदीरिता ॥
इतिश्रुत्वामहीपालः तदालोकनलोलुपः ।
अनेकश्रीमुखाकृष्टमकरोदमुमत्मासात् ॥
स्वर्विशेषैरुर्विगतः तमाचारैरतोषयत् ।
अभूषयच्चभूपालभर्गार्थैश्चसुभाषितैः ॥
नृपनिर्बन्धनिर्दिष्टेप्रकृष्टविभवेगृहे ।
वहतःपैतृकींवृत्तिंतस्यासीत्तनयत्रयम् ॥
मनोरथाह्वयस्तेषांमध्यमोवंशवर्धनः ।
ततस्तनूजाश्चत्वारःस्रष्टुर्वेदाइवाभवन् ॥
श्रीवीरदत्तइत्येषांमध्यमोवंशवर्धनः ।
यवीयानस्यचश्लाघ्यागौरीनामाभवत्प्रिया ।
ततःकथंचित्सागौरी द्विजाधिपशिखामणेः ॥
कुमारंदण्डिनामानंव्यक्तशक्तिमजीजनत् ।
सबालएवमात्राचपित्राचाप्यव्ययुज्यत ॥
अयुज्यतगरीयस्यासरस्वत्याश्रुतेनच ।
सविक्रियेपुरेतस्मिन्परचक्रोपरोधतः ॥
सचचारशुभाचारः सर्वामुर्वीमुदारधीः ।
अथाश्रमेष्वधीयानः शास्त्रेषुचकृतश्रमः ॥
पश्यन्पुण्यान्यरण्यानिन्यवसद्दिवसान्बहून् ।
अथाहूतःक्षीतीशेनप्रशान्तोपद्रवेपुरे ॥
ससुहृद्बन्धुमध्यस्थः सभेजेनिजमास्पदम् ।
एकदावास्तुशास्त्रज्ञः तक्षकर्मविचक्षणः ॥
नृपान्तिकंश्चिदभ्येत्यप्रणिपत्योपतस्थिवान् ।
अनल्पकल्पिताश्चित्राः विकल्पाश्चित्रकर्मणाम् ॥
अत्रत्वष्टामुनैवेत्थं तत्रस्थास्तमशंसिषुः ।
सतुशिल्पिवरस्तेषामाक्षिप्यस्तुतिमात्मनः ॥
मूर्धन्यांजलिमाबन्धन्नथदण्डिनमभ्यधात् ।
अस्मिन्विज्ञाप्यमस्माकं अनुग्राह्योस्मियद्यहं ॥

court and bowing to him repeated a Sanskrit verse in praise of Vishnu in his man-lion incarnation. When the king listened to the lofty sentiments expressed in the verse he enquired of the stranger with great curiosity who was the author of the piece. The Gandharva replied to him, "in the north-west

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प्रार्थनांवितथांकर्तुं प्रभवोनभवादृशाः ।
महामल्लपुरेदेवस्वैरंवारिधिसन्निधौ ॥
आस्तेमुकुन्दस्सानन्दं फणाद्रिइवमन्दुरे ।
भग्नःकेनापितस्यासीत्कारणेनमुरद्विषः ॥
मणिबन्धोमहाबाहोः समयासंन्धितोऽधुना ।
तदालोकितुमर्हन्ति भवन्तःसाधुवानवा ॥
एतावताप्रयासेन प्रसादातिशयोस्तुनः ।
श्रुत्वासेनापतेःपुत्रःकलाकौशलपेशलः ॥
पार्श्ववर्तींपरांमैत्रीं बिभ्रद्दाग्डिनमभ्यधात् ।
आर्यसंभाव्यतामस्यस्थपतेर्वचनंत्वया ॥
अपिचस्पृहणीयंतेसुहृदामपिदर्शनम् ।
मित्राणिमातृदत्ताद्याःकेरलेभ्योद्विजोत्तमाः ॥
त्वद्दर्शनार्थमायाताः तस्मिन्सान्निदधत्यमी ।
इतिश्रुत्वाततःप्रीतः तंविसृज्यपरेहनि ॥
सुहृद्भिस्सहतंदेशंययौतेनचशिल्पिना ।
अथोत्तरङ्गभङ्गालीविलसद्बाहुलीलया ॥
नृत्यन्तमिवगम्भीरमम्भोराशिंददर्शसः ।
ततस्सागरकल्लोलक्षिप्तक्षोदाम्बुचुम्बिना ॥
सेव्यमानसुखामोदक्षारिणावनवायुना ।
तत्रोदारंमुदापश्यददूरेराजमन्दिरम् ॥
गच्छन्वेलापथेनाथप्रपेदेमन्दिरंहरेः ।
तरङ्गबाहुसंवाह्यचरणावुरुहद्वयम् ।
उदन्वतामुदाविष्टोददर्शमुरशासनम् ।
प्रविश्यप्रतिमाभ्यर्णंगत्वानिर्वर्णयन्नयम् ॥
नाध्यगच्छत्सुसंहत्यासन्धानंमणिबन्धने ।
तस्या........तत्त्वष्टुःतक्षकर्मणिशिक्षया ॥
विस्मितायस्मितंकुर्वन्नस्मैदर्शयतिस्मसः ।
तस्मिन्कालेजलोद्देशेददृशेमुक्तवारिजम् ॥
उदयारुणमार्ताण्डमण्डलाकारिवारिधेः ।
तत्तुप्रत्यक्षमेवैषांतरङ्गप्रेषितंहरेः ॥

there is a town named Anandapura, the crest-jewel of the Aryadesa where ruled many kings. A family of Brahmans of the Kausikagotra migrated from the place and settled at Achalapura. Narayanasvamin, a member of this family, had a son named Damodara, who became a great scholar and was known as Bharavi. He became a friend of the king Vishnuvardhana. Once he accompanied Vishnuvardhana on a hunting expedition and while in the forest was obliged by him to eat animal flesh. He then set out on a pilgrimage to expiate his action and finally settled in the court of Durvinita. He is the author of this verse, which I have now repeated." On hearing this, the king desired to see the poet and induced him to come to his court by many invitations (Srimukha). The poet delighted the king greatly by his writings (Subhashitas). He was made to live in a respectable dwelling assigned to him by the king and followed the profession of his fathers which was poetry.

This very interesting extract is important in more ways than one. It

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चरणाम्बुरुहस्पर्शात्सद्यो विद्याधरोऽभवत् ।
ततः किरीटी केयूरी कृपाणी कवची च सः ॥
भूत्वा तपस्वी भूतेशं प्रणम्योदपताद्दिवम् ।
दृष्टा दण्डिनमाचष्ट स्नेहादिष्टतमः सुहृत् ॥
गौरीपुत्रोऽपि नन्वेतत् विस्पष्टं दृष्टवानिति ।
पश्यन्नाश्चर्यरूपं तं चिन्तयित्वा किमित्यसौ ॥
कौतुकाकृष्टदृष्टिभ्यः तेभ्यः संभ्रान्तमभ्यधात् ।
पद्मसंबन्धिनो नूनममुना मुनिशापतः ॥
पद्मीभूय प्रमुक्तेन भाव्यं दिव्येन केनचित् ।
अथवा देवमाराध्य प्रसादान्मुरशासनम् ॥
अत्याहितमिदं वेत्तुमत्यर्थमहमुत्सहे ।
ततः स्वभवनं गत्वा ददर्श ... मुपेयुषे ॥
कथयामास तत्सर्वं भूतार्थं भूतभावनः ।
पृथुकान्तिमवन्तिसुन्दरीति ।
प्रथितां विक्रमरत्नराजहंसाम् ॥
सरसां रहसि प्रियामिवार्द्रां ।
उपलेभे पुरुषोत्तमप्रसादात् ॥
मुक्त्वा शय्यां मिलितपुलकव्रातमुत्थाय भूयः ।
प्राप्तानन्दो रतिसमयप्राप्तनां क्रियाणां ॥
सप्रारंभसपदि सकलां स्वप्नलब्धां सुहृद्भ्यः
शुश्रूषुभ्यः पृथुमथकथां विस्तरेणाभिधातुम् ॥
॥ इत्यवन्तिसुन्दरीकथासारे प्रथमः परिच्छेदः ॥

has established the synchronism of three kings: Simhavishnu of Kanchi, Durvinita and Vishnuvardhana. All the three names are famous in South Indian history. Simhavishnu of Kanchi was a king of the Pallava Dynasty whose descendants had supreme political control over the major portion of South India for well-nigh three centuries. He is known from inscriptions to have seized the country of the Cholas after defeating a hostile confederacy of the Malaya, Kalabhra, Malava, Chola, Pandya, Simhala and the Kerala kings. Durvinita who appears in the present work as another contemporary of Bharavi seems to be the king of the W. Ganga dynasty of that name. In fact there is only one king of that name so far known in the whole range of Indian history. From his inscriptions we gather that his tutor was the famous divine who was the author of the Sabdavatara, the celebrated Jain grammarian Pujyapada. Some inscriptions make Durvinita himself the author of a Sabdavatara (vide note 3, Mysore Archæological Report 1916 p. 36). Durvinita is also said to have translated the Brihatkatha and written a commentary on fifteen sargas of Kiratarjuniya, the poem of Bharavi. Neither of the two works of Durvinita has come down to us. Of these, his translation of Brihatkatha seems to have been into Sanskrit from the original Paisachi. Durvinita is mentioned in Nripatunga's Kavirajamarga as one of the distinguished early Kannada writers.

But his work which is of the utmost interest to us is the second, that is, his commentary of fifteen cantos of the Kiratarjuniya. There cannot be greater praise bestowed on the merits of a poet than that his work should be commented on by the talented sovereign whose protegé he is. This position Bharavi seems to have occupied. Our extract says that Bharavi did not continue in the court of Durvinita for long, but that he was induced to leave it and settle at the court of Simhavishnu, the Pallava ruler of Kanchi.

Now we have to find out who was the other royal contemporary of our poet that is mentioned in the poem. His name was Vishnuvardhana. There were many kings of this name in South India. But the king referred to in the extract seems to be the younger brother of the famous western Chalukyan emperor Pulakesin II., the conqueror of Harshavardhana. This Vishnuvardhana is populary known in inscriptions as Kubja Vishnuvardhana. As a general under his elder brother Satyasraya Pulakesin II., he conquered many countries and captured Vengi from the Pallavas. There he later on founded the dynasty of the Eastern Chalukyas after declaring himself independent of his elder brother. But the incident mentioned in the present work and his coming in contact with Damodara, the Bharavi of our story must have taken place while he was still a prince fighting his elder brother's wars. The way in which he treated the poet affords an interesting contrast to

the way in which he was honoured in the courts of his contemporaries. Simhavishnu and Durvinita, with both of whom he came in contact.

We do not know whether Bharavi was the author of any works other than Kiratarjuniya. The verse that is quoted in Avantisundarikatha and which aroused the curiosity of Simhavishnu is not to be found in the poem. We cannot say whether it is a fugitive verse of the author or whether it has been taken from any other work written by him. There cannot be the slightest doubt that Kiratarjuniya became very popular throughout India very soon after it was written as verified by the tradition above quoted about Magha. We are not in a position to say whether the sculptor of the elaborate sculpture on the whole side of the hill at Mamallapura (Mahamallapura) representing the penance of Arjuna and his encounter with Siva in the guise of a Kirata was influenced more by the story as it was narrated in the Mahabharata or as it is depicted in the immortal "Hunter and the Hero".

After Bharavi the MS. of Avantisundarikatha gives the history of the family of Bharavi. He had three sons of whom Manoratha was the second and the family increased through him. Manoratha had four sons resembling the four Vedas of whom the youngest was Viradatta who was a good philosopher. He had by his wife Gauri, a son called Dandin. Dandin lost both his parents while still young. He acquired great scholarship and proficiency in the Vedas. When the city of Kanchi was besieged by enemies and was reduced to great straits he left it, and wandered over the country, visiting many hermitages (asramas) mastering the sastras and seeing the sacred forests.

After peace was restored in the city he was invited back by the king and returned and once more joined his relations and friends. After this the work narrates the following incident: One day an artist who was well versed in architecture and sculpture came to the king and bowed down. The officers of the court introduced him to the king and said that the artist had executed several exquisite sculptures. The artist saluted him with due humility and said "if you want to honour me, you should not refuse this request of mine. At Mahamallapura there is the God Mukunda on the shore of the sea. His wrist was broken by somebody, and I have rejoined the same. The work deserves to be seen by you and judged as to its merits. The son of the commander-in-chief a friend of Dandin who was skilled in the arts exhorted him to accept the invitation of the artist and take along with him his relations and friends like Matridatta, who had come from the Keralas.

Dandin, pleased with the invitation, left Kanchi the next day accompanied by his friends and the artist. He saw on his way the ocean constantly

agitated by the waves. Not far from the beach he saw the place of the king. Proceeding along he went to the temple of Hari (Vishnu) whose feet were washed by the waves of the sea. He approached the idol and examined it thoroughly but could not discover where the wrist of the idol was joined. At this the artist with a smile in his face showed it to him and Dandin was astonished.

After this the work passes on to give the account of a miracle, in order to begin his subject proper, the story of Avantisundari. As the poet was standing before the God and examining the sculpture, a lotus which had just blossomed was thrown at the feet of the God by the waves of the sea. When it touched the feet of the God, it was changed into a Vidyadhara. The Vidyadhara bowed before the God and flew to the heaven. Dandin and his friends were greatly surprised at the miracle and he thought that if he meditated upon God he would be pleased with him and reveal the story of the miracle. He did accordingly and the God, pleased with his devotion, revealed to him the story of Avantisundari. Before discussing about the new information here given about Dandin, let us examine what we already know about his identity and history. There is a tradition[4] that Dandin wrote three works and it is nowhere recorded which were his three works. The two Sanskrit works Kavyadarsa and Dasakumaracharita have been known to be his works and they have been published and have gone through several editions. Of these the Kavyadarsa is a great authoritative work on poetics. It is quoted in a large number of later works. This work is not entirely devoid of any reference to the date and place of the author. In verse 114 canto III of the work, he gives as an example of a Prahelika the following verse:—

नासिक्यमध्या परितश्चतुर्वर्णविभूषिता ।
अस्तिकाचित्पुरीयस्यामष्टवर्णाह्वयानृपा: ॥

Commenting on this verse an early commentator of the work, Tarunavachaspati has the following passage:—

काञ्चीनगर्यां पल्लवानामक्षितिपतय: सैन्ताविवाक्षत: ।

From both the verse and the commentary we gather that the reference is to the famous city of Kanchi ruled by the Pallava dynasty. Again in canto II verse 279 of Kavyadarsa we have the reference[5] to the Saiva king, whose name has been variously read as Rajavarman and Ratavarman. We can gather from the way in which the king is introduced that he must have been

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4 त्रयोग्नयस्त्रयोदेवास्त्रयोवेदास्त्रयोगुणा: ।
त्रयोदण्डिप्रवन्धाश्चात्रिषुलोकेषुविश्रुता: ॥

5 इतिसाक्षात्कृतेदेवे राज्ञोश्रीराज(त)वर्म्मण:।
प्रीतिप्रकाशनंतच्च प्रेयइत्यवगम्यताम् ॥

a contemporary of the author. This led to the identification of the king by Mr. R. A. Narasimhacharya with Rajasimha Narasimha Varman II. the Pallava king of Kanchi. Again Professor Rangacharya, the editor of the critical edition of the Kavyadarsa, mentions in connection with canto I, verse 5, a tradition that the work was composed by Dandin for giving lessons in rhetoric to a royal prince of Kanchi. The prince was according to Mr. R. A. Narasimhacharya probably Rajasimha's son. From these data Dandin's period was concluded to be the last quarter of the seventh century.

The other work attributed to Dandin is the Dasakumaracharita. This is a long prose romance dealing with the story of the romantic adventures of ten princes. This work has been very popular for a very long time among the scholars throughout India and there are also several commentaries. Scholars have no tradition about the author of this work except that he was called Dandin. One of the commentaries says that the author came to be called Dandin on account of the beauty of the first verse[6] in his Dasakumaracharita in praise of God Vishnu wherein the word "Danda" occurs a number of times. Again the latter portion of the Dasakumaracharita or the Uttarapithika as it is called is not believed to have been written by the author of the other portion, but to have been filled up by some later author. But in spite of the widespread prevalence and popularity of the work there have been scholars who doubted whether the author of the Kavyadarsa could have been also the author of the Dasakumaracharita. As an example of this school of opinion one may refer to the note on "who wrote the Dasakumaracharita?" by Mr. G. J. Agashe of Poona. Ind. Ant., Volume 44, page 67. There the writer tries to make out a case that the author of Dasakumaracharita could not have been Dandin, the author of the Kavyadarsa. The Dasakumaracharita abounds in passages, the like of which according to the tenets of the Kavyadarsa should not occur in good poetry. Referring to this, the author of the above note has the following: "Not to mention the tiresome description and reiteration of what in the author's time were considered feminine charms, we have explicit mention of sexual intercourse in no fewer than ten places in the Dasakumaracharita. One of these ten passages is so outrageously obscene that it cannot but bring a blush to the cheek of every cultured reader. Now I venture to ask if it is conceivable that an author, who, as an authority in rhetoric, wrote like an angel of

6 ब्रह्माण्डच्छत्त्रदण्डः शतधृतिभवनाम्भोरुहोनाळदण्डः ।
क्षोणीनौकूपदण्डः क्षरदमरसरित्पट्टिकाकेतुदण्डः ॥
ज्योतिश्चक्राक्षदण्डः त्रिभुवनविजयस्तम्भदण्डोऽङ्घ्रिदण्डः ।
तेजस्त्रैविक्रमस्तेवितरतुविबुधद्वेषिणां कालदण्डः ॥

righteousness, should or could have so far forgotten himself as to violate in practice what he taught in poetry." The writer also quotes various instances of harshness of expression and grammatical inaccuracy. He thinks that in an examination of the Dasakumaracharita it is possible that one may be able to collect much more material to confirm doubts as to the identity of the authors.

But the discovery by the Madras Library of the present manuscript sets at rest all these doubts. The work describes the same story which is described in the Dasakumaracharita and in addition has many other small anecdotes. An examination of the style and diction of this work would convince any reader that it is not liable to attacks similar to those levelled against the Dasakumaracharita. It is a Champu work (partly prose and partly poetry). But as chance would have it, the manuscript that has been discovered is not complete but breaks in the middle and has many lacunae. From the beautiful language in which it is written and the autobiographical sketch prefixed to it there cannot be any doubt that the present author is the same as the author of the Kavyadarsa and that the Dasakumaracharita was written by some later and inferior poet. Rajasekhara refers in a verse to three works written by Dandin and this is bound to be one of the three. But one has to be able to say when Avantisundarikatha was lost and Dasakumaracharita began to be considered as Dandin's work. The earliest mention of Dasakumaracharita as a work of Dandin seems to be in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. There is a translation of the Dasakumaracharita into Telugu written by one Mulaghatika Ketana. This work was dedicated to the famous Telugu poet Tikkana, who wrote the Nirvachanottara Ramayana and translated fifteen parvas of the Mahabharata into Telugu which had been left incomplete by Nannaya. Ṭikkana was a contemporary of the Telugu Chola chief Manma-Siddha as well as of the Kakatiya king Ganapati and of the Chola sovereign Kulottunga Chola III. Therefore the author of the Telugu Dasakumaracharita also must have lived about the middle of the thirteenth century. He is popularly known in Telugu as Nutana Dandin or Abhinava Dandin for his translation of the Dasakumaracharita. This proves that by the scholars of the middle of the thirteenth century, Dasakumaracharita was considered to be a work of Dandin. From this it is plain that Avantisundarikatha must have been lost or forgotten some time before the middle of the thirteenth century and in its place the Dasakumaracharita began to be considered as Dandin's work.

Now what was the third work of Dandin referred to by Rajasekhara? Tradition has not left any clue of it. But the exertions of recent scholars has brought it to light. Among the works noticed in the Peripatetic Party's

report of the Madras Library is a Sringaraprakasa, by Bhoja, which seems to be a hitherto unknown work of the famous king of Dhara "Bhoja" and deals with the subject-matter of Sringara in an exhaustive manner and quotes profusely from many works, some of which are now lost to us. One of these is Dandin's Dvisandhana. The work combines in each stanza the incidents of the stories of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. This Dvisandhana seems to be different from the work of the same name of Dhananjaya, one of the court poets of Munja of Dhara, the uncle of Bhoja, the author of the present work.

The whole of the previous discussion would lead one to think that the age in which Bharavi and Dandin lived must have been one of intense religious and literary activity. But the names of any famous literary worthies of this period have not come down to us. Nevertheless a careful study of literature and a critical examination of the dates of the authors may bring to light the names of some more poets who lived during the age of Bharavi and Dandin and in the country of the Pallavas, *i.e.*, South India. The Indian Antiquary some years ago published several articles from the pens of able sanskritists and archæologists about the relative chronology of Bhamaha and Dandin. Of these one set of scholars whose ablest representative might be said to be Mr. R. Narasimhacharya of Mysore held that Bhamaha was earlier than Dandin and that Dandin has in various places of his Kavyadarsa controverted the views of Bhamaha. He quotes in favour of his view the ancient commentator of the Kavyadarsa Tarunavachaspati from whom we have already quoted. But the opponents of this school whose ablest representative one might take to be, Mr. Pathak, held that Bhamaha was later than Dandin. Their chief reasons for this view were that Bhamaha quotes a Nasakara in his work whom they identify with Jinendrabuddhi, the author of the Kasikavirvarana-Panchika, who lived about the middle of the eighth century. Also they find in the work of Bhamaha, criticism of the views of Dandin and quote to illustrate this the respective views of Bhamaha and Dandin about the varieties of the Alankara Upama. Bhamaha maintains that Upama should not be divided into several categories as Nindopama, Prasamsopama, etc., and that all such varieties should come under Samanyaguna. The school see in this a criticism of Dandin who gives a long list of varieties of Upama. Mr. Narasimhacharya conclusively proved in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XII, that the Nyasa quoted by Bhamaha could not have been Jinendrabuddhi's and that Sanskrit grammarians knew several other Nyasakaras before Jinendrabuddhi. But the other objection about Bhamaha's criticism of the views of Dandin seems to be still valid. Similarly the view that Dandin criticizes Bhamaha in his work seems to prove that both Bhamaha and Dandin were contemporaries.

The whole discussion of the relative chronological positions of Bhamaha and Dandin has been very ably dealt with in a pamphlet entitled "Bhamaha" by Pandit A. Anantacharya, late of the Mysore Archæological Department. He quotes various arguments to show that Bhamaha could never have lived later than Dandin whose work, according to him, must have been written to criticize Bhamaha. "Throughout his treatment the general rule with Dandin seems to be to disapprove wherever possible the views and classifications of Bhamaha and to maintain the contrary view. To quote only a few instances where Dandin has done this, one might examine Dandin's definition of Kavya, treatment of the Nayaka, Nataka, the Vaidarbhi and Gaudi Ritis, the classification of the Alankaras, the definition of ojas". To determine the dates of the two authors the able writer makes use of the orthodox method of the Tarkikas who use the four sorts of evidences Spashtalinga, Aspashtalinga, Ubhayasadhana and Pratipaksadhana. From this discussion he comes to the conclusion that Bhamaha could never have lived later than Dandin. If he could not have been later, then he must have lived either before or in the time of Bhamaha.

Dealing with Prahelikas Dandin quotes a full verse of which only a portion has been made use of by Bhamaha in illustrating the Doshas. Both Bhamaha and Dandin cite another stanza in illustration of Preyolankara. The author from this and many other arguments says "from the comparative study of Bhamaha and Dandin indulged in by us till now, one may be tempted to say that they criticized each other as leaders of two rival schools". This suggestion would be absurd, according to this writer on the face of it, when he considers the southern origin of Dandin and the Kashmirian origin of Bhamaha. The commentary on Bhamaha quotes Rudrata whom it is attempted here to identify with the Rudracharya of the Kudimiyamalai music inscription, the tutor of the Pallava king perhaps Mahendravikramavarman I.

The arguments which the writer brings forward to prove the priority of Bhamaha to Dandin are not convincing. Dandin mentions by name the Maharashtra Mahakavya Setubandha of Pravarasena about whom Bhamaha is silent. From this it can by no means be affirmed that Bhamaha was earlier than Pravarasena. Another argument is that Bhamaha mentions the older view of Indian astronomers that the earth moves. This, according to the writer, would establish the priority of Bhamaha to Aryabhata. But this view was held by many other astronomers who were distinctly later than Aryabhata like Brahmagupta (seventh century) and Bhaskara (twelfth century). Bhamaha's ardent support of the realistic school of Vedanta whose existence is recognized by the great founder of the Advaita school of Vedanta in his Sariraka Bhashya and which marked the reaction that set in against the teaching of Buddha leads

according to our author, to a time earlier than Sankara. Here it ought to be said that the realistic school continued in existence even after Sankara and that even the priority of Bhamaha to Sankara would not establish his priority to Dandin, because Sankara is now accepted by scholars to have lived in the eighth century or the beginning of the ninth century *i.e.*, later than the date of Dandin.

The fact that Bhamaha was very conversant with the story of Chanakya, the Brihatkatha of Gunadhya and the story of Vatsaraja only shows that these were very popular subjects for literary composition during this period and also the newly discovered work of Dandin deals with all these subjects.

Bhamaha quotes several authors as well known in his time like Medhavi, Ramasarma and Sakavriddhi and their works like Achyutottara, Ratnaharana, Rajamitra, and Asmakavamsa. Of these Ramasarma appears to have been a contemporary of our poets and his work was the Kavya Achyutottara. Bhamaha quotes with approval this work in several places and recommends his readers to refer to the work. He also in a few places criticizes the work. While dealing with the subject of Prahelika Dandin employs the same words as Bhamaha and goes on to enumerate an extensive classification of that style. Dandin does not mention the name of Ramasarman, while Bhamaha does so. From this it cannot be argued that Dandin did not know the verse. On the other hand it seems to add strength to the argument that Dandin, Bhamaha and Ramasarma were contemporaries.

Another contemporary of these authors was Matridatta who is called a friend of Dandin. He is said to have come from the Kerala country and been residing at the Pallava Court in the time of Dandin. But we do not know of any work of this Matridatta.

Bhamaha wrote also another work in addition to his Kavyalankara *i.e.*, his commentary on the Prakṛita Sutras of Vararuchi. The opinion of some scholars that Bhamaha was a Buddhist is untenable because he himself in various places of his work has criticized the tenets and dogmas of Buddhism. Bhamaha does not afford any other clue as to his age and parentage. He merely says that he was the son of Rakrilagomin. The suffix Gomin of his father's name was considered to be a honorific suffix to certain Buddhist proper names and meant "Revered" and from that the son of Rakrilagomin, Bhamaha was considered to be a Buddhist.

The Trivandrum Sanskrit series has published a burlesque "Prahasana" called "Mattavilasa". The book[7] says that its author was a king called

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7 *Mattavilasaprahasana of Mahendravikramavarman.*

सूत्रधारः ॥

भाषावेषवपुःक्रियागुणकृतानाश्रित्य भेदानूगतं भावावेशवशादनेकरसतां त्रैलोक्ययात्रामयम् ।
नृत्तंनिष्प्रतिवद्धबोधमहिमायः प्रेक्षकश्चस्वयम् सव्याप्तावनिभाजनं दिशतुवोदिव्यः कपालीयशः ॥

Mahendravarman, of the dynasty of the Pallavas of Kanchi, that he was the son of Simhavishnu, and had the titles Avanibhanjana, Mattavilasa, Gunabhara and Satrumalla. These terms leave no doubt about the identity of the author who was Mahendravarman I. of Kanchi who was a great patron of arts and had the cave-temples like those of Mahendravadi, Mamandur, Trichinopoly, Pallavaram, excavated. He also seems to be the king referred to as having inscribed the musical treatise on the whole side of the hill of Kudimiyamalai. This treatise, according to the colophon[8] was composed by some king, who was the pupil of Rudracharya. From the alphabet in which this inscription is written, which resembles very closely the alphabet of the Trichinopoly inscription of Mahendravarman I, archæologists have come to the conclusion that Mahendravarman I was the author of the treatise. Mr. Bhandarkar, the editor of this inscription, says in his article " It is impossible to say whether this Rudracharya be the same as Rudrata, mentioned by Matanga as an author on music ". *Ep. Ind.*, XII, page 231. But the identity of Rudracharya and Rudrata seems to be more than merely probable. We have the example of a later Rudrata who lived in the court of the Hoysala king Vira Ballala II. The tradition is that his full name was Rudrabhatta, and that on one occasion the king extorted from the poet the promise that he

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नटी—

x x (सरोषम्) अय्य । किंचिरस्सकाळस्सजोव्वणगुणभर मत्तविलास प्रहसणंदसेदुं आअदोसि ।

छाया ।—आर्य । किंचिरस्यकालस्य यौवनगुणभर मत्तविलासप्रहसनंदर्शयितुमागतोसि ॥

x x x x x x x

सूत्रधारः—भवतिश्रूयतां । पल्लवकुलतिलकधरणिमण्डलकुलपवर्तस्यसवर्नयावीजितसमस्तसामन्तमण्डलस्य
अखण्डलसमपराक्रमश्रियः श्रीमहिमानुरूपदानविभूतिपरिभूतराजराजस्य श्रीसिंहविष्णुवर्मणः पुत्रः
शत्रुषड्वर्गनिग्रहपरः परहितपरतन्त्र तयामहाभूतसधर्मा महाराजः श्रीमहेन्द्रविक्रमवर्मानाम ।

अपिच्च

प्रज्ञादानदयानुभावधृतयः कान्तिः कलाकौशलं सत्यंशौर्यममायता विनयइत्येवम्प्रकारागुणाः ।
अप्रापस्थितयः समेत्यशरणंयातायमेकंकलौ कल्पान्तेजगदादिमादिपुरुषंसर्गप्रभेदाइव ॥ ३ ॥

x x x x x x x

भरतवाक्यं ॥—

शश्वद्भूत्यै प्रजानां वहतुविधिहुतामाहुतिंजातवेदाः ।
वेदान्विप्राभजन्तां सुरभिदुहितरो भूरिदोहाभवन्तु ॥
उद्युक्तःस्वेपुधर्मेष्वयमपि विगतव्यापदाचन्द्रतारं ।
राजन्वानस्तुशक्तिप्रशमितरिपुणाशत्रुमल्लेनलोकः ॥ २३ ॥

8 The colophon of the Kudimiyamalai Music inscription.—*Ep. Ind.*, *XII*, *p. 23*.
श्रीरुद्राचार्यशिष्येण परममाहेश्वरेण राज्ञाशिष्यहितार्थंकृता: स्वरागमा: ॥

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should remove the letter *bha* from his name and should be known as Rudrata, his famous namesake and predecessor. On this analogy Rudra, Rudrata and Rudracharya seem to be one and the same individual. The Kudimiyamalai inscription says that Rudracharya was a great authority in music and that he had many pupils including a king of the Pallava dynasty among them. Rudrata like Bhamaha and Dandin was the author of a Kavyalankara. But he seems to have lived half a century prior to both of them in the time of Mahendravarman I, the son of Simhavishnu, whose Court was adorned by Bharavi. He might have known personally and been familiar with the latter if Bharavi had lived long enough. Dr. Peterson in the introduction to the edition of Vallabhadeva's Subhashitavali notes the possibility of this identity of Rudrata with Rudrabhatta and refers to the work Sringaratilaka composed by him.

The series of dramas which have been published at Trivandrum as Bhasa's seem to belong to this period. Svapnavasavadatta although it answers in several points the description of Bhasa's drama does not seem to be the whole of it. It and several other works of the series appear to be abridged editions of the works of Bhasa and some other famous authors like Sudraka, abridged for the purpose of staging before the court of some king. This king seems to have had the title Rajasimha,[9] as is evident from the colophons of several of these dramas. This Rajasimha seems to have been another name of the Pallava king Narasimhavaraman II who reigned during the last decade of the seventh century and was a descendant of Mahendrasarman, the author of Mattavilasa. These dramas bear a strong resemblance to the Mattavilasa with which they have some common characteristics. Mr. L. D. Barnett in his note in the J.R.A.S. for April 1919 suggests that the dramas seem to have been the work of an anonymous author in the court of the Pandyan sovereign Termaran Rajasimha who seems also to be related to the Pallava Rajasimha. But the evidence points more to the Pallava than the Pandya court for the authorship of these dramas. Even if they are taken to have been written in the Pandya court the dramas must have been written during this period.

Again several manuscripts of Mudrarakshasa found in South India have the name of Dantivarman in the last benedictory verse.[10] This was variously

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9 इमां सागरपर्यन्तां हिमवद्विन्ध्यकुण्डलाम् ।
पृथ्वीमेकातपत्राङ्कां राजसिंह: प्रशास्तुन: ॥
(क)

10 *Mudrarakshasa.*

राक्षस:—तथापीदमस्तुभरतवाक्यम् ।
वाराहीमात्मयोने स्तनुमवनविधावास्थितस्यानुरूपां ।
यस्यप्राग्दन्तकोटिं प्रळयपरिगताशिश्रियेभूतधात्री ॥
म्लेच्छैरुद्विज्यमानाभुजयुगमधुनासंश्रिताराजमूर्तेः ।
सश्रीमद्बन्धुभृत्यश्चिरमवतुमहीं प्रार्थिवोदन्तिवर्मा ॥

read as Rantivarman and Avantivarman. But these do not seem to be the proper readings. Many old and reliable manuscripts of the Mudrarakshasa, examined in Malabar, have the name Dantivarman in the place of Rantivarman or Avantivarman. This Dantivarman seems to be identical with the Pallava sovereign of the name who ruled about 720 A.D. These are some of the great literary worthies who lived in the period and whose names have been possible for us to know. But there must have been many more whose names have been forgotten. Many of the inscriptions of the Pallavas are written in beautiful Sanskrit verse. There must have been several good poets among the composers of these inscriptions. But we do not know what works they wrote.

The age that produced such great worthies of Sanskrit literature has not been without the production of a proportionate quantity of valuable literature in the Dravidian languages. This was the age in which lived several great Saiva and Vaishnava seers. The devotional songs of the Saiva saints comprised in the Tirumurai contain the works of several poets who lived at this period. In fact three out of the four Samayacharyas of the South Indian Tamil Śaivas, Appar, Sambandar and Sundarar belong to this age. These three together wrote a considerable portion of the Saiva Prabandhas. Of these Appar, or Tirunavakkarsar as he is called, is said to have converted the Pallava king Mahendravarma who was originally a Jain into Saivism. Another saint Sambandar or Tirugnanasambandha was a contemporary of Siruttonda Nayanar who is said to have been a general under the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I and to have accompanied him in the compaign against Vatapi. Sundara, the other saint, is said to have lived a generation later in the Pallava, Pandya and Chera courts. The list of Saiva saints contains the names of at least three who appear to have been Pallava sovereigns, Narasingamunaiyarayar, identified with Narasimhavaram I, Aiyadigal Kadavarkon Nayanar and Kalarsinga Nayanar.

At least one of the twelve saints of Vaishnavism and the last of them in point of chronology lived during the period of the Pallavas. This was Parakala or Kalidhvamsin, as he is known in Sanskrit or Kaliyan or Tirumangai Alvar, as he is known in Tamil. He has referred to the achievements of several Pallava kings in his songs. He also refers to a king called Vairamegha who is said to have made grants to Vishnu temples and besieged the Pallava capital Kanchi. This Vairamegha seems to be the Rashtrakuta king Dantidurga who had that title. Parakala therefore lived during the Pallava period. He is called Chatushkavi-Sikhamani and Shatprabandhakrit and wrote more extensively than any other of the twelve Vaishnava saints.

The Tamil poem Nandikkalambakam was dedicated to the Pallava king

Nandivarman II who defeated his enemies in the battle of Tellar. The poet Perundevanar, the author of the Bharatavenba, lived in his time as he refers to him in the Udyogaparvam of his Bharatam. He should not be confounded with the author of the invocatory stanzas to the various Tamil classics which have been known collectively as the Sangam works who is also said to have written a Bharatam in Tamil.

Thus the age and country which produced Bharavi and Dandin is very important in the history of Aryan culture. It produced very great poets, dramatists, rhetoricians, sculptors, musicians and authors. All these were, of course, due at least to a little degree to the cultured taste and patronage of the Pallava sovereigns. Such civilized tastes and patronage of culture cannot be expected of a nomadic tribe of Parthian origin who came all the way from Parthia to the southern extremity of the Indian peninsula destroying everything that they found on their way. They are said to have vanquished the ancient tribes of the peninsula and become rulers and not to have left their mark either on the civilization or the literature of the country. It has been attempted in this paper to show how much both the civilization, literature as well as the religion of the country owe to them and how indelibly they have left their mark on its history. The mistake arose out of the mistaken relation between the South Indian Pallavas, or the Kadavas or Tondaiyar as they were known indigenously, and the Pallava kings on the north-western frontier of India of Parthian origin.

THE DEVA DASIS OF INDIA.

BY THE HON. MR. T. V. SESHAGIRI IYER, B.A., B.L.

THE penalty we pay for two of the most prominent defects in our national character is heavy. The failure to keep a record of our social and political institutions has been a serious misfortune. The free play we have given to imagination regarding ordinary incidents of life, thereby giving them a colour and a setting which have effectively cast a thick veil over their reality is another evil. The result is, our history is often guess work ; not infrequently we rely on surmises for reconciling seeming incongruities and for finding reasons for many of the prevalent formulae and practices.

In this article, I propose to trace the origin of an institution which is shrouded in mystery. Apparently it has a long past. I refer to the community of Dancing Girls. It is a well-known class in the South, and I believe it is recognized as a separate class in the North also. The Bairavis and Shevadasis of Bengal belong to that class. The Bairavis of Bombay claim the same privileges as their sisters in Madras. The statement sometimes indulged in that the old long past witnessed unalloyed purity in every department of life is not quite accurate. The Rig Veda, the *Vajasaneya* Samhita refer to the profession of Dancing Girls. Manu's condemnation presupposes the evil (IX 259). The jataka of the Buddhists has allusion to them. We occasionally come across tell-tale narrations in the Epics and in the Puranas, which show that our forbears were not wholly free from human frailties. In many Puranas, the story of the churning of the ocean finds prominent mention. The tradition is that both the Devas and the Asuras wanted the elixir of life. It was believed that this would ensure eternal youth and life. The hunt after it has just begun in the West. The quest after such an alluring idea will never abate. In India, the contending parties petitioned the higher powers for the boon. The prayer was answered. The elixir and other valuable and coveted treasures were obtained. Maha Vishnu, Indra and others divided them among themselves. Mahadev, to save the others from destruction, agreed to swallow the poison and was none the worse for it. The Apsaras came out of this process ; and they were given permission to lead a life of unfettered freedom. This, briefly, is the Puranic story. Even amongst the most orthodox, there are people who regard this as an allegory ; without meaning any offence to the religious minded, I shall treat it as such in this article.

Probably the story points to the first attempt made in India, on a large scale, to cross the seas. All the principal gods are mentioned as having taken part in it. Mahalakshmi symbolises material wealth and prosperity. The horse and the elephant indicate the advent of a new mode of warfare. The science of medicine was reborn, and had for its leader a new professor probably from beyond the seas.

Only the riddle of Mahadev swallowing the poison is not easily solved. It may be that this bravest of the brave was willing to undergo all the privations incident to piloting a bold enterprise, with a view to others benefiting by it. He was apparently the leading spirit and captain of the ship. He was content to count as his reward the success of the undertaking. He stipulated for no *quid pro quo*.

The subject I am concerned with relates to the Apsaras. It is said they were handsome. To-day the unkindest way of snubbing an ugly woman is to say "what an apsaras?" A large number of them were brought ashore. These sea-nymphs requested the Devas and the Asuras to take them in wedlock. That was refused, probably because they did not belong to the races inhabiting this land ; ever after, they came to be known as *sadarana* women, *i.e.*, women who belonged to no man in particular. The Bombay people call the dancing girls *Visva yoshithas*, women common to all in the world. It looks as if these women were from a different land. Very likely they were slaves and were purchased : may be they chose of their own accord to follow these people from a new country ; it was on this account that the caste-ridden Devas and Asuras refused to take them in matrimony.

I have authority which to some extent supports me. In the Ramayana reference is made to the presence of these people in the asramas of rishis. They are mentioned as being present in the palaces of kings. In *Yagnyavalkya Smriti* there is a reference to them. I had occasion to examine the text when I was a judge of the High Court and my recollection is that this great *smrithi* writer regarded them as beyond the pale of the four castes. That is an indication that they were not children of the soil. They were content to accept India as their future home. I am sure that the cult attracted others and the diminishing ranks were replenished by home recruits. It is doubtful whether foreign blood in the most diluted form is now to be found in their veins. That is not unnatural. Even to-day you will find among them more colour and a softer skin and better complexion. But that would not bespeak their foreign origin. Very likely those that claim to belong to that class now are unmixed Indian stock. I am only concerned with the institution as it sprang up and not with its later transformation. It is not difficult to suppose that the earliest among them at one time did belong to a different country. They have their own laws of inheritance. Descent is traced through the mother, naturally ; and the property, in the first instance, goes to the daughter. It is taken by the sons only if there are no daughters.

It now remains to account for their connection with temples. Mr. William Crooke writing in the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics thinks that their connection with temples began about the ninth or tenth century A.D. ; very many of our temples were built about that date. I am inclined to think their connection with religious institutions must have been earlier. Once again I draw inferences and do not state facts. My idea is that when the ancients found that these women were unacceptable as wives, and that consequently there would be danger to society by their being allowed to roam at will, they believed a check upon their unfettered life might be devised by asking them to attach themselves to religious institutions,

The aim in view was that by continued presence in temples, where good men and women congregate, these unfortunate women might be induced to change their mode of life and to become votaries of God. This may account for their dedication. Unfortunately these pious hopes were not realized. Instead of reforming themselves they dragged down others with them. They now go to the temple not to worship, but to tempt unwary young men. This is due to the fact that the custodians of the temples have not enjoined strict rules of decorum and of discipline on these women. These institutions intended for the reformation of the bad and the evil-minded have turned out to be the means of ruin for not a few.

At one time, I was inclined to think that these dancing girls began life as religious votaries ; I remember to have written on the subject from this point of view. I then argued that in course of time they must have degenerated, owing to lack of supervision and control. But legal treatises and puranic legends seem to suggest that the process has been different ; they were bad from the beginning ; they were intended to be reformed ; but they have grown worse since. This is my reading of an institution which at present is an eye-sore to society. Many attempts are being made to reform them : and I know that these women have banded themselves into organizations for improving their condition. It is the duty of Indians to lend a helping hand to these people who for no fault of theirs find themselves in a not very enviable position. I hope it may be possible for scholars to follow up the suggestions I have made in this article. I hope those that do me the honour of reading this article may find better materials for arriving at a right conclusion on this subject. None will be more pleased than myself, if I am proved to be in the wrong.

NOTES.

The Story of Jivandhara in Kannada Literature.

IN Volume XII, pp. 317–320, of this Journal, Dr. Hultzsch has mentioned the Sanskrit and Tamil works giving the story of the Jaina prince Jīvandhara with their probable periods. It may be of some interest to the readers of this Journal to know that there are also some works in Kannaḍa literature dealing with the same subject. As far as I know, there are three works in Kannaḍa giving the story of Jīvandhara: (1) Jīvandhara-charite, (2) Jīvandhara-sāngatya and (3) Jīvandhara-shaṭpadi. All the three are poems written by Jaina authors.

The first work, **Jīvandhara-charite**, was composed by Bhāskara in A.D. 1424. The author says that he was of the Viśvāmitra-gōtra and the son of Basavānka. As he states that he composed the work in the Śāntīśvara-basti at Penugoṇḍa, it is very probable that he belonged to that place. The work, written in *Bhāminī-shaṭpadi*, consists of one thousand stanzas and is divided into eighteen *sandhis*. The author tells us that his work is a translation of the Sanskrit Jīvandhara-charita of Vādībhasimha-sūri.

The second work, **Jivandhara-sangatya,** so called because it is written in the *sāngatya* metre, was composed by Bommarasa in about A.D. 1485. The author was the son of Bommarasōpādhyāya and the great grandson of Vādībhasimha-Nēmi-chandrārya, and belonged to Terakaṇāmbi, a village in the Guṇḍlupēt Taluk of the Mysore District. He states that his great grandfather, having defeated hostile disputants at the court of the Vijayanagar king Dēva-Rāya II (1419—1446), was presented with a certificate of victory by that king. The work, consisting of 1449 stanzas, is divided into 20 *sandhis*. The author also wrote another Kannaḍa poem named *Sanatkumāra-charite*, which relates the story of another Jaina prince of the name of Sanatkumāra, son of king Viśvasēna of Hastināpura.

The third work, **Jīvandhara-shatpadi**, which is also written in *Bhāminī-shaṭpadi* like the first, was the composition of Kōṭīśvara, who flourished in about A.D. 1500. It is satisfactory to note that the author, unlike the usual run of poets, gives a few interesting details about himself. His father was Tammaṇa-seṭṭi, the general of Bayidūr in the Tuḷu country, mother Rāmakka, elder brother Sōmēśa, younger brother Durga, and *guru* (preceptor) Prabhāchandra, the disciple of Paṇḍita-yōgi of Beḷuguḷa (Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa). He was the son-in-law of Kāmaṇa-seṭṭi, the royal merchant at the court of Sangītapura, the Sanskrit for Hāḍuvaḷḷi in South Kanara. His patron was the ruler of Sangītapura, Sangama, the son of the vanquisher of warriors the Maṇḍalēśvara Haivanṛipa. It was at the instance of his patron that he wrote the work. I regret I am not in a position to give the exact number of *sandhis* and stanzas in the poem as unfortunately the palm leaf manuscript of the work that I came across was incomplete, containing only 9 *sandhis* and 118 stanzas in the 10th *sandhi*.

R. NARASIMHACHAR.

Human Sacrifices to Water Spirits.

BY L. A. CAMMIADE, ESQ.

IN the July number of this Journal Mr. Sarat Chandra Mitra has drawn attention to various legends current in India on the subject of human sacrifices to water spirits. He points out that, in India as in other parts of the world, there is a belief that every river or stream has its indwelling spirit who needs human victims but that in consequence of Dravidian influences the belief has undergone a modification to the effect that in order to obtain water for a newly dug pond, tank or well, the spirit who dwells in it must be propitiated by human sacrifice. In support of this view he gives six legends, two of which are current among the Santhals, two among the Bengalees, one from the Bombay side and one from the Central Provinces.

It would be of value if these six legends could be supplemented by others from purely Dravidian parts of India such as Mysore and the Madras Presidency. That such legends do exist may be seen from the following extract taken from an account of the Empire of Vijayanagar written by Fernando Nuniz, a Portuguese merchant or traveller who visited Vijayanagar about the year 1536 :—

"The king also made in his time a lake for water which lies between two very lofty hills....... The king commanded to throw down many great rocks into the valley, but everything fell to pieces, so that all the work done in the day was destroyed each night, and the king amazed at all this, sent a call to his wise men and sorcerers and asked them what they thought of this thing. They told him that his idols were not pleased with this work, it being so great and he giving them nothing, and unless he spilled there the blood of men or women or buffaloes that work would never be finished. So the king sent to bring hither all the men who were his prisoners and who deserved death and ordered them there to be beheaded, and with this the work advanced."

Another Portuguese, Domingo Paes, who visited Vijayanagar about this same time, confirms this account but with slightly different details.*

"The tank burst two or three times, and the king asked his Brahmans to consult their idol as to the reason why it burst so often, and the Brahmans said that the idol was displeased and desired that they should give him the blood of men and horses and buffaloes ; and as soon as the king heard this he forthwith commanded that at the gate of the Pagoda the heads of sixty men should be cut off and of certain horses and buffaloes, which was at once done."

This is the only instance of the existence of the modified legend in Southern India that I can recollect at present. But many more and perhaps better instances of the legend may be current. Readers of this Journal would render service if they would communicate them to this Journal.

Meanwhile I may mention that the legend in its primitive form is not unknown in the Madras Presidency. Five miles from Madras on the banks of the river Adyar is a hillock known as the Little Mount with a cavern said to have once

* [" A Forgotten Empire," Sewell, pp. 245 and 365]

been occupied by the apostle Thomas. An annual fair and festival is held at this place. It is commonly believed that invariably some one gets drowned in the river during the festival and that the corpse when recovered bears the black imprint of a hand at the place where the evil spirit struck its victim.

It may have been noticed that at Vijayanagar the sacrifice was offered not because water could not be found but because the work undertaken by the king for storing the available water was being constantly overthrown. The belief that the water spirit will overthrow all important works erected within its domain unless and until it has been propitiated by human sacrifice is widely prevalent throughout the Madras Presidency. I have known three instances where it has interfered with bridge construction.

The first case that came to my notice was in the Tinnevelly District in the extreme south of India. I was camping on the banks of the Tamaraparni at Ambasamudram where a railway bridge had recently been built when I heard a rumour that the builders of the bridge had offered human sacrifice before starting work. I tried to ridicule the idea of English railway engineers offering any such sacrifice, but was told by my informants with an air of superior knowledge and as a final argument that the bridge could not possibly have remained standing unless human sacrifice had first been offered.

The next case was in the Godavari district. The railway bridge that spans the river at Rajahmundry is a mile and a quarter in length. The European bridge contractor had the greatest difficulty in getting his coolies to start work, because he would neither himself sacrifice to the river nor would he even indirectly be a party to any kind of sacrifice intended to insure the stability of the bridge. Finally it was arranged that he was to give his coolies money and a holiday in order that they might obtain protection for their own individual lives at least. A sacrifice of sheep was held to suffice for this purpose.

The third case arose in the capital town of Madras. About three years ago preparations had been begun for enlarging the Wellington bridge which spans the Cooum on which Madras stands when a rumour spread that the bridge engineers intended to sacrifice a child to the spirit of the river. The rumour gained such credence that many harmless people were attacked by the infuriated mob and some were beaten to death in the belief that they were trying to kidnap children for the sacrifice.

Before ending, I think it is necessary to lay stress on the fact, that in the three cases just mentioned, as also in the case that happened at Vijayanagar, human victims were considered necessary merely because of the magnitude of the trespass that was being committed into the domains of the water spirit. For lesser trespasses the spirit, like all others of its class, will with great reasonableness accept lesser sacrifices. Thus in Madras when a well is being dug a cock will appease the spirit. In order that there may be no misapprehension on the part of the water spirit the sacrifice is offered only after water level has been reached.

TIRUMANGAI ALVAR AND DANTIDURGA.

BY RAO SAHEB DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI IYENGAR, M.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S.

IN the January number of the Journal (Vol. xiii, No. 2, pp. 580-588) my esteemed friend Mr. Sesha Ayyar offers further arguments in support of his position regarding Dantidurga. I shall not follow my friend in all the nuances of the style of his controversy and shall content myself merely with noting down a few points in regard to each one of the issues raised by him.

1. In regard to the interpretation of the passage under dispute I still hold my original interpretation as the more natural. There is a certain amount of unwarranted assumption, unless it be a result of psychical research, in regard to the history of this interpretation. My attention was first drawn to the question of Tirumangai Āḷvār by the late Mr. Venkayya in the course of a controversy which had arisen on the late Mr. Sundaram Pillai's 'Some Milestones in Tamil Literature' published sometime in the year 1892—1893. I have understood the passage exactly in the way that I do now all through this long period. My attention was drawn to Periya Āchan Pillai's interpretation some time before I wrote the article on the subject to the Indian Antiquary, years after. Pandit Raghava Ayyangar had written his article by then and had done me the honour of a special reprint with some additions and modifications in handwriting. I have always acknowledged my indebtedness to others whenever I adopted their conclusions. In this case I felt I had no reason to do so, and hence it is not right to say that there was no doubt about its meaning till the learned Pandit's article appeared in the Sen Tamiḷ. Pandit M. V. Ramanujachariar, the Translator of the Mahabharatam in Tamil, who came to see me a few weeks ago on other business, interpreted the passage in the same way as I did, when I put the stanza before him and asked him to give me the meaning of it. He has not followed the controversy and has none of the prepossessions connected therewith. I have no pretensions to any clairvoyance and cannot speak for all the Tamil Pandits, eminent or other. I am content with the humbler position that my interpretation of the passage has the support of some pandits who presumably know a certain amount of Tamil. The Vairamēgha datum was known both to me and to Mr. Venkayya ever since, though we adopted different interpretations years after. It is just possible for Periya Āchan Pillai to have erred in a detail like this, as it is admittedly in the case of many another scholar and commentator of equal eminence in the world of letters, Sanskrit and vernacular. And such an error does not take away from the character for scholarship of the scholars concerned. It is just possible that he was led to the particular interpretation owing to his ignorance of who Vairamēgha actually was. When Dantivarman Pallava had assumed the title Vairamēgha whatever be the origin or reason, it is not difficult to understand that others that followed him in the same royal family assumed the title, or even that a commentator who came a few centuries

after did regard it as the family name of the Pallavas. But that will not justify our assuming that the title was assumed by any Pallava previous to this Dantivarman. It is possible ; but many things could be argued on possibilities as in fact anything could be said to be possible.

2. The Kadaba plates ascribe to Dantidurga Rāshṭrakūṭa, the title Vairamēgha, according to Mr. Rice, the late Dr. Fleet, and Dr. Lüders. How or why he assumed the title Khaḍgāvalōka, or his successors any number of other titles of a similar character we do not know. We have this specific fact that he had this title in the Kadaba spurious plates. That he did attack Kānchī is stated not only in the Ellora inscriptions and the Kadaba plates, but also in the Talagaon plates of Krishna I. The Bhagumra plates of Govinda III go farther, and the sixth śloka has a clear reference to his occupation of Kānchī.

My esteemed friend has stated in the course of the article, " Professor Dubreuil thinks it is a fiction for which the learned professor of Indian History and Archaeology in the University of Madras is responsible " ; and so far as my esteemed friend knows, " no other archaeologist or historian has mentioned a siege of Kānchī by Dantidurga". The siege as siege is perhaps not mentioned. But the following remarks of Professor D. R. Bhandarkar, the Carmichael Professor of Indian History at the Calcutta University, who edits the Bhagumra plates, are appropriate. From verse 6, if we notice the *double entendre* clearly intended, we learn that Dantidurga I reduced the lowermost, that is the southern country, then turned his armies against Madhyadēśa and finally conquered the city of Kānchī. I set below the sloka itself in original.

Kṛtvāspadam hṛdayahāri jaghanyabhāgē
Svairam punar vimardyacha madhyadeśam !
Yasyāsamasya samarē vasudhānganāyāḥ
Kānchipadē padam akāri karēṇa bhuyaḥ !!

3. The next point is my want of precision in regard to the meaning that I ascribe to the words. The meaning ascribed continues exactly the same that it was before, *viz.*, that Vairamēgha's forces and fame lay around Ashṭapuyakaram of Kānchī and that this Vairamēgha was entitled to deferential treatment of the king of the Toṇḍaiyar. The new light that the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates throw upon it is such as to dispel the inference that " the traditional guardian of the temple where the idol is enshrined *lies low at the feet* of a possibly Jaina invader who has surrounded the city by his fame and forces." The siege of Kānchī or the attack on it must have taken place before Dantidurga got into occupation of Kānchī. The new information of the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates is that Nandivarman Pallavamalla, the ruler of the Pallavas, married, in all likelihood, a Rāshṭrakūṭa princess by name Rēvā. This new fact perhaps explains what took place between the two rulers after Dantidurga came into occupation of Kānchī. The marriage could not have come about unless the two rulers entered into a treaty and agreed to be friends, and a marriage could easily follow as concluding the treaty as in so many other known cases in history. We had not known hitherto that there was anything like a

permanent occupation of Kānchī; from that the inference is inevitable that a treaty was entered into between the two powers. Such a contingency was very likely in the historical circumstances attending the two rulers at the time. Both of them were usurpers, both of them perhaps had reasons to be cautious against not only external enemies but also internal; and nothing would assure their position better than to come to terms with the habitual dynastic enemy. The Chāḷukyas were all along the enemies of the Pallavas, and the overthrow of the Pallavas by the Rāshṭrakūṭa naturally made the Rāshṭrakūṭa become heir to the foreign policy of his predecessors. One good way of settling it from the point of view of Dantidurga,—the last Chāḷukya was yet alive, was to secure the alliance of the Pallavas. My explanation of the passage has just undergone the change that this new fact necessitates—which change does not modify the character of the interpretation in the least, but only provides an explanation of matters remaining not clearly explained. If this is want of precision of which I am charged with accusing others, I leave them to the enjoyment of their own well-formed opinions. I have not the slightest objection to "other researchers" being as unprecise and inaccurate as they care to be. Where I have, for one reason or other either, to adopt their views or consider them and set them aside, I have necessarily to investigate the matter closely and have to point out inaccuracies or errors, such as they appear to me, as a matter of course. It is of the essence of the work, and nobody need be worried for a matter like this, as errors of this character are not so much beyond commission even by careful workers. The statement of the Āḻvār that the two together worshipped at the particular shrine need not necessarily involve my much esteemed friend's interpretation with the new light that the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates throw upon the question of one of them "lying low at the feet" of another. Nor is it a bar if Dantidurga Rāshṭrakūṭa had been a Jaina by persuasion. That he was a Jaina, my esteemed friend has yet to prove. In regard to the name Vairamēgha being found associated with towns, villages, and canals is explained adequately by the title Vairamēgha attached to Dantivarman Pallava and his successors. That such have not been met with in the Rāshṭrakūṭa country is no evidence that the title was not assumed by a Rāshṭrakūṭa ruler even for the first time. As far as my comparatively restricted knowledge of Rāshṭrakūṭa and other territories goes I have not come upon any monument of the kind incorporating any of the titles of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, a feature which that dynasty exhibits in a particularly profuse fashion.

4. In regard to the interpretation of my venerable friend Rai Bahadur Mr. Srinivasa Pillai, that interpretation would have readily suggested itself if the word வணங்கும் had a subject expressed, like பலவேந்தர் or other like quoted in the paragraph.

5. In regard to the other passage where my friend differs from me in respect of the meaning of பண்டு meaning a remote past time, I beg leave to point out that a slight difference of application is possible between the two words பண்டு and பண்டை. The quotation that I gave in illustration contains the word கண்டு in the first line which

requires as a metrical necessity பண்டு in the second line, without my giving unnecessarily "a twist to the order of words." Without any twist whatsoever my meaning would still stand whether the word is the first or as it is in the text, or whether it is put in the order in which my friend puts it in prose order for me. All the elaborate string of quotations there becomes superfluous as I was not asserting that பண்டை even பண்டு, did not have the meaning of a remote past, but said that it could be used for a past not so remote as it was taken to be.

6. Coming to the constructive part of my friend's argument two points emerge for consideration. The reference to a Nedumaran by Periyāḻvār, and a reference to Nandi in one of the tens of Tirumangai Āḻvār. The name Nedumaran is so common among the Pandyas, in fact it means no more than "the great Pandya" that it could be ascribed to several on authority, and this particular datum is not so specific as to make Tirumangai Āḻvār's date turn round it till we get more of a specific lead. In regard to the second, this fact is not clear, but we may concede that a king by name Nandi probably a Pallava king did some work of devotion in Nandipuraviṇṇagar. My friend shows an inclination to identify this Nandi III who "according to epigraphical records was a pronounced Vaishnava devotee". I am not sure of the epigraphical records under special reference here. The Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates describe Nandi III as a 'Saiva'.* The Bāhūr plates give no indication this way. The Taṇḍantoṭṭam plates would support this position if the interpretation suggested by Rai Bahadur Krishna Sastri turns out correct. He has offered the suggestion only tentatively and the Nandivarma referred to there seems to be no other than Nandi II. In any case it is not enough of an authority to make this assertion, while the work Nandi Kalambaham gives an unequivocal indication that Nandi III was a Saiva. Beyond this I have often heard it said by people knowing Nandivanam, the village more formally called Nandipuraviṇṇagaram, that the village was named after the temple and the temple itself came to possess the name as that of the forest region where Nandi, the bull of Siva, performed penance and obtained the beneficence of Vishnu. That is sufficient explanation of the work of devotion by Nandi. But even admitting that the Nandi referred to there is one of the Pallava kings, the chances are that it was Nandi II rather than Nandi III.

I shall be glad to accept the identification both of the particular Nandi and of the actual date given by my friend on a little more of a specific lead being offered.

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* Haracharaṇa sarojothamsa chinnēna mūrdhna
Mukuliṭa karapadmo vandaṭe Nandivarmā.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To

THE EDITOR,

The Journal of the Mythic Society,

Bangalore.

SIR,

I have read with great interest the very interesting discussion that has been going on between Dr. Krishnaswami Iyengar and Mr. K. G. Sesha Aiyar in the issues of your journal as regards the date of the Vaishnava Alvar Tirumangaiyar. May I with your kind permission offer the following observations in connection with the discussion?

The stanza on the God of Ashtabhuja at Kānchī is regarded as yielding what has been called 'the Vairamēghan datum.' Unfortunately the stanza in question appears to admit two interpretations. According to Mr. Sesha Aiyar and Rao Bahadur K. S. Srinivasa Pillai, Tirumangai Āḻvār in this stanza refers only to one individual, namely the Pallava king of Kānchī. In this view they appear to have followed the lead of the late Mr. Venkayya (so far as the interpretation goes) who, in his paper on the Triplicane inscription of Dantivarma (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. 8, p. 290), suggested also the identification of Vairamēghan of the Āḻvār's stanza with Dantivarman. Pandit Raghava Iyengar and Dr. Krishnaswamy Iyengar have however found two distinct individuals in the stanza and take the reference to Vairamēghan as referring to the Rāshtrakūta Dantidurga who, according to the Kadaba Plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol 4, p. 334), was surnamed Vairamēgha.

It is now necessary for us to determine who this Vairamēgha is. Though the stanza in question is capable of being interpreted in two ways the Āḻvār could not have meant the reference to both a Pallava and a Rāshtrakūta king. The elements that cause the confusion are the reference to Vairamēgha in the Kadaba plates and the statement in Periavāchanpillai that Vairamēghan is the family name of the Pallavas. If we agree with the learned commentator that Vairamēgha was the family name of the Pallavas, it becomes difficult for us to verify the same. There are hundreds of surnames and family names that we come across in the Pallava copperplates and stone inscriptions all over the Pallava territory but in none of them do we come across this term Vairamēgha as having been the family name of the individual kings or dynasty, though the birudus of Mahēndravarman and Narasimhavarman, such as Mahāmēgha and Srīmēgha occurring in the Trichinopoly Inscription and the Inscriptions of the Seven-pagodas, might perhaps be construed to suggest that in a similar way Vairamēgha was also a sur or family name of the Pallavas.

As against this we have the explicit reference in the Kadaba Plates that Dantidurga was surnamed Vairamēgha. The genuineness of the Kadaba plates

as regards the names it enumerates need not, we are assured, be doubted. For Dr. Lüders, in editing the Kadaba plates, has remarked that the fact that no birudu of Dantidurga has turned up till then is not a matter of surprise as *Dantidurga was the first to acquire the supreme sovereignty as well as to assume birudus.* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. 4, p. 134). On this authority, we may suppose that Vairamēgha is a characteristically Rāshtrakūta title assumed by Dantidurga; we must now find out how it came to be popular in the Pallava land and still surviving in names like Vairamēgha tank, Vairamēgha Chaturvēdimangalam, etc. The most natural explanation that suggests itself is the importation of the name into the Pallava genealogy as a result of a marriage alliance which might have been preceded in all probability by a Rāshtrakūta invasion of Kānchī during the time of Dantidurga. On this last point it may be stated that the invasion (though not a siege which is part of an invasion) of Kānchī is not a fiction. I will quote only one verse from two of Indrarāja III's plates bearing on Dantidurga's conquests. Verse vi of the plates reads as follows :—

"Krtvāspatam hrdyahari jaganyabāgēsvairam punarmrdu vimardyacha Madyadēsam

Yasyasamasya samarē vasudānganāyā *Kanchīpatē* padamakāri karēna būyah" (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. ix, p. 24.)

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, whom we may regard as both a historian and an archæologist, in editing the plates writes on this verse as follows .—"From verse vi if we notice the *double-entendre* so clearly intended, we learn that Dantidurga first reduced the lowermost that is the southern country, then turned his arms against Madyadēsa and *finally conquered Kānchī*." We do not know anything further than this and if this conquest of Kānchī is a fact we may presume that a siege was part of the campaign as Kanchi was reputed to be memorable in those days for her impregnable ramparts. Though we do not know the exact course of events that followed we may suppose that the result of the campaign was unfavourable to Nandivarmanpallavamalla, the Pallava ruler, and the treaty that must have followed was probably cemented by a marriage alliance by which the Pallava king married one of the Rāshtrakūta princess. This Rāshtrakūta wife who gave birth to Dantivarman is alluded to in verse of the Vēlūr-Pālayam plates.

"Tasyāmbu rasērivavāhinīnamnātasyanāna guṇaratnadāmnā
Dirasya bubrdvaralabda janmā *Revēvarēva* mahishibabūva"

It is not improbable to regard that the son born to the Rāshtrakūta queen of Pallavamalla was deliberately according to Hindu custom named after the grandfather as Danti, which is a characteristically Rāshtrakūta name. That he had as a second part of his name the birudu Vairamēgha like his maternal grandfather is also exceedingly probable. This is also confirmed by two of the Uttaramallur Inscriptions (Nos. 61 and 74 of 1898) dated in the ninth and the twenty-first year of Dantivarman, which mention the name of the tank as Vairamēgha tatakam evidently named after the surname of Dantivarman.

From all this we are led to conclude that the Vāiramēghan referred to by Tirumangai Āḻvār was really Dantivarman, the son of Nandivarmanpallavamalla, through Rēva, the Rashtrakuta queen. In this case Periavachanpillai's remark that Vairamēgha is a family name of the Pallavas should be understood to mean as applying to the later Pallava line from the days of Dantivarman as from that time the name Vairamēgha becomes familiar in the contemporary records. It is also probable from the description of the stanza that the Āḻvār was probably a contemporary of Danti who also is described as a most devout worshipper of Vishnu (Bahur Plates, verse 9). Mr. K. G. Sesha Aiyar and Mr. Srinivasa Pillai (History of Tamil literature, Part II, page 128) regard Tirumangai Āḻvār as the contemporary of Nandivarman III, though there is no room for regarding him as a devotee of Vishnu. On the other hand the Nandikalambaham written during his reign describes him as "he who never forgot Siva" in verse 96 of the manuscript edition. ("சிவனை முழுதுமறவாத நெஞ்சினன்")

If the above given explanation is accepted, there will be no difficulty whatsoever in the stanza that have been perplexing scholars for the last quarter of a century. The late Mr. Venkayya first correctly identified the 'Vairamēgha' of the Āḻvār's stanza with the Pallava king though he was not aware that it was essentially a Rāshtrakūta surname that travelled into the Pallava country and adopted into the dynasty since the time of Dantivarman. In mentioning the surname Vairamēgha for Dantivarman, Tirumangai Āḻvār was only hinting at his descent from the glorious Rāshtrakūta line. The Vairamēghan of Inscriptions Nos. 150 and 152 of 1916 was probably a later member of the family of Dantivarman, who has nothing to do with the Vairamēghan of Tirumangai Āḻvar's stanza, as the paleography would seem to suggest.

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THE PURANAS.

By V. Venkatachalla Iyer, Esq., B.A., B.L.

The Puranas are a part of the sacred heritage of the Hindus. Most of them have now been printed, but they are not easily procurable. Our country does not possess the advantage of institutions of the nature of Free Libraries.* Very few even among Pandits have any appreciable knowledge of the Puranas. In the case of most of these Puranas they probably do not know more than the names. In the case of some of these they are probably familiar with extracts compiled for special purposes, such as quasi-religious readings intended for devotional gatherings in Karthika and Magha months. A systematic examination of these works has never been undertaken by those competent to do it. For individual effort the labour would be immense. Organized labour in this field, for pure love of research, is not in consonance with the habits or temperament of the race. On the other hand, it should be recognized that the higher promptings, if any, are stifled by the chill penury of this unfortunate class of learned men. The average Pandit lives from hand to mouth; and, however great his scholarship, society does not recognize that he has any claim on it.

Western civilization has done a great deal for this country, for which we should feel grateful from generation to generation. Much that was good, much that was desirable in our culture, was however inevitably swept away; and it is doubtful whether what is gone will ever be replaced. It is gratifying to observe that latterly titled chiefs and ruling princes among Hindus are not very slow to appreciate or forward movements for the promotion of studies in indigenous literature, science, and art, and that they have awakened to a sense of their own responsibilities in this matter.

A serious drawback to Sanskrit research has been the utter absence in native thought of the idea of indexes or tables of contents. These simple devices for minimising labour, and husbanding time, were unknown in ancient India. Sanskrit authors never troubled themselves with these details nor even cared to date their compositions.

In modern editions of ancient works tables of contents are prefixed, as often as not, but indexes are still conspicuous by their absence. Such helps are badly wanted in the case of the Puranas, and, when provided, will help to dispel much of the obscurity in which these treatises are now enwrapped.

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* In Mysore there are several free libraries—*Ed.*

. The average Hindu knows very little about the Puranas, their composition, their contents, or their value as civilizing or humanising influences. He has very exaggerated notions in these respects and it is nobody's concern to tell him that he is mistaken, even if one should be in a position to correct his impressions.

The purpose of the Puranas, as to what they should expound, is summed up in a well-known verse found in Amarasimha's 'Namalinganusasanam' in the following form :—

सर्गश्चप्रतिसर्गश्चवंशोमन्वन्तराणिच ।
वंशानुचरितंचेति लक्षणानामतुपन्चकम् ॥

That is to say, 'the creation, the destruction and renovation of worlds; the genealogy of Gods and heroes; the reigns of the Manus, and the transactions of their descendants'.*

† Dr. Wilson says 'that great variety prevails in this respect and few contain historical or genealogical matter'. He is of opinion that they contain the whole body of Hindu theology. But the fact remains that the five topics of which each Purana should treat do not admit of much theology in the true sense of the word. Their province is occupied with cosmogonic myths, myths about Gods and Goddesses, with the addition of what is handed down from ancient times as the history of Manu's generations.

Mr. F. E. Pargiter, now retired from the Bengal Civil Service has, if I may say so with respect, correctly pointed out that it is probable that the Puranas were originally written in Prakrit; and that at a later period they were done into Sanskrit.

They were written for the average man. The period when they were recast was the time when Buddhism had passed the meridian and was felt to be on the wane.

This was the period when Brahmin orthodoxy left no stone unturned in its campaign against the faith and practice of Buddhism. Every effort in every line of activity was made by Brahminism to gain the upper hand.

The Puranas were part of the machinery devised by orthodox Brahminism in this onslaught against Buddhism. The idea was to assimilate into the Brahmin system whatever was good in the faith or practice of the Buddhists and to make it appear that all this was, all along, almost from creation, recorded in the sacred books of the Brahmins and inculcated by their ancient masters, and that there was nothing new in any opposing creed.

Some of the major Puranas appear to have been re-written with the set purpose of promoting ignorance and superstition: of enslaving the minds of

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* † } See Dr. Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary. Voc: पुराणम् Purāṇam.

the people: of preventing them from thinking for themselves: and of giving currency to a religion, which, while pretending in theory to contain within itself the principles of emancipation, is calculated in practice to sink one deeper and deeper into the quagmire.

Fetish worship of every sort is advocated with energy and earnestness.

An elaborate programme of debasing rites, one at least for each day of the year, has been worked out.

It is a mixture of light and darkness, of dirt and deity.

The idea of godhead is such as is embodied in an anthropomorphism of a gross character.

The gods are many and varied, but they have one common characteristic of being morally depraved. Each god has his cult which is diligently inculcated.

The parables constructed to point the moral for instruction are often of a character calculated to make a strong appeal to criminal impulses and instincts. They are at times of a revolting nature, while the levity of the mental equipment of the authors is laid bare in its true colours. Criminal ideas, as passing fancies, may not always provoke criminal acts. But, when treated in a realistic fashion and worked into a theme, they are capable of stiffening the criminal impulses of some sections of mankind. It is like the danger that has been found associated with cinema films of a certain class which the administrations of some countries have found it necessary to proscribe.

A Brahmin youth violates his newly widowed mother and that at a time when she is in an untouchable condition. His sin is washed away by bathing in a certain stream.

A libertine dressed in dandy fashion wends his way to a harlot's house. On the road, the Pansupari held loosely in his hand drops down into a gutter. The man cries out कृष्णार्पणमस्तु. For the merit of this pious wish he obtains the royalty and throne of Indra.

Happiness in this world, and beatification in the next, are easily obtained by bathing in streams, by fetish worship, by feasts and fasts, and not necessarily by prayer, penance or tribulation. For theology in the higher sense, something that would bring comfort to the mind or peace to the soul, something to ennoble, something to visualise the better self, it is not to those books that we should turn.

The Puranas are all stated to be the work of Vyasa, at least the more important of them. They are placed in two classes: the Mahapuranas and the Upa-Puranas. The number in each class is traditionally accepted as eighteen.

The claim of some to be ranked as Mahapuranas has sometimes been questioned. Some Puranas are of a huge volume. The Skāndapurana reckons

about eighty thousand verses. Next to it stands the Pādma. On the other hand we should mention the instance of the Vāmana Purana (a very minor performance) admitted to take its place as a Mahapurana. The Upa-puranas form a supplementary course.

A third class of Puranas exists and requires to be mentioned. These works are known as Sṭhalapuranas. They are rank forgeries. Each place of pilgrimage, each important shrine, has its Sṭhalapurana, alleged to have been the work of this or that rishi of ancient sanctity. Some of them claim to be portions of one or other of the Mahapuranas. Notwithstanding their pretentious claims, they are works of no authority; and, for the present, may be left out of consideration altogether.

It is not possible to fix the dates of these Mahapuranas from the present state of our knowledge of the subject. Any approximation can at the best be only wide of the mark. Three of these puranas should be mentioned in particular. Dr. Wilson says that it is the opinion of some that the (Srimad) Bhagavatapurana is spurious and modern. There is no doubt that such a belief exists among the better informed of the Pandit classes.

It is supposed to be the handiwork of a great scholar, Mahamahopadhyaya Vopadeva, the author of the Mugdhabodha, a system of Sanskrit grammar, which has successfully eliminated many of the complications of Pāṇini's science. He is believed to have been the Laureate Sanskrit Pandit at the court of one of the kings of the Muhammadan dynasty of Gulbarga; the Srimat Bhagavatam is, as to much of it, a copy of the Devi Bhagavatam.

Dr. Wilson states that the 'Brahmavaivartapurana' is also of very modern origin.

I wish to add that perhaps the most modern of all the Mahapuranas is the Bhavishya Purana, in which Vyasa foretells the future to the end of the eighteenth century A.D. We find embodied in this Purana, extracted from the Christian Bible, short accounts of the ante-diluvian patriarchs from Adam and Eve, the narrative of the deluge, the part played by Noah (written न्यूह:) in it, and the subsequent re-peopling of the earth by Noah's generations.

The history of the Afghan and Mongol dynasties who ruled at Delhi and of the Great Moguls is duly 'foretold'.

Tamerlane or Timur Lung is named Timira Linga.

Sivaji (written as Sévaji) and Aurangzeb are duly noticed, as also the incursions of Nadir Shah.

The story of the rise and development of the East India Company's settlement at Calcutta, and of Government under Parliamentary authority, is also part of this revelation.

Vyasa's opinion upon any subject must indeed be of unquestionable

authority. It is only proper, therefore, that the reader should know that, according to this revelation, the British race was directly descended from an ancient stock of monkeys who had obtained great boons for the future from Rama, the Avatar, as a reward for the assistance rendered by them to him in his expedition against Ravana.

Whether the author of this Purana intended it as a burlesque or not, we must admit that he had a lively sense of humour. He entered into the spirit of this branch of literature. He knew that the Puranas of the earlier periods were quite as much fabrications as his own. The regard that he had for these works is reflected in his own methods of treatment. Apart from that, his purpose was to bring Vyasa up-to-date, and we cannot say that he failed in his endeavour.

The Agnéya Purana is unique in its enterprise. It appears to have been conceived as an abridgment of other Puranas. In addition, it admits much matter that does not fall within the province of a Purana to record. Among the topics of this Purana we find an epitome of the Ramayana, as also of the Mahabharatha : lectures on astronomy, astrology, architecture, iconography and military engineering. We find also poetics, rhetoric, dramaturgy, linguistics, grammar, and, for wonder, a dictionary of synonyms and homonyms copied from Amarasimha's 'Namalinganuṣasanam.' It is a sort of "Enquire within for everything", "a Chambers' miscellany", an Encyclopaedia. The pity of it is that it should be palmed off on suffering humanity as a Purana ; and, what is worse, that it should be admitted to the rank of a Mahapurana. Works of this character only accentuate the levity with which the members of the sacred colleges treated the artlessness and simplicity of the ignorant masses.

It should not be supposed that all the volume of matter that we now find in each Purana was really there from the start. As usual in Sanskrit literature extensive interpolations have, from time to time, helped to make these compilations ponderous. It is not ordinarily known that huge frauds have been perpetrated in the manufacture of these works. Chapters of great number and great length are found plagiarised from one Purana and incorporated entire into another, *verbatim et literatim*. The Puranas were brought into existence in days when it was extremely difficult to multiply copies. Each locality prided itself on the possession of a particular book. Authors knew very wel the difficulties in this respect that possible readers had to contend with. Every endeavour was made to make each Purana self-contained, as far as possible, and this was done with the minimum of literary effort on the part of the author. Page after page was transcribed entire from some other Purana, with head lines and the names of the interlocutors mostly changed. The reader thus found his Purana as complete as possible. The author had the satisfaction

of knowing that his literary larceny could not ordinarily be discovered in the conditions which existed.

It may appear strange and paradoxical that each one of two Puranas should copy from the other. And yet it is true. This happens when a portion of Purana A is copied into Purana B, and some other portion of Purana B is copied into Purana A.

If all spurious and irrelevant matter is removed from each of the Puranas, much expense of publication would be saved, much deception would be put an end to, much waste of time obviated.

These peculiarities of Puranic texts came to be known to the present writer by the merest accident. In looking for information on a certain topic, in more than one Purana, for the purpose of comparative study, he was surprised to find that what met his eye in the second Purana was an exact copy of what he had read in the first.

Some attention bestowed on Puranic texts, from time to time, disclosed information which the writer thought fit to note for his own use. Many would be glad to obtain the same information without having to pass through the painful experiences of the writer. A transcript from the writer's note-book is therefore given hereunder, in the hope that learned readers, in the course of their studies, will be able to add to the list from time to time.

In the several cases of copied Puranic matter, it is not easy to state, without an exhaustive study, which Purana supplied the original. Some indications in the way of clues are met with occasionally. The question in each case, however, would require thorough investigation and patient comparative study, if it is particularly worth while to find a correct solution. In the subjoined notes where it is stated that Purana A has copied from Purana B, that statement should not be taken to be absolutely correct. For, extended research may show that the truth is the other way about and that Purana B has copied from Purana A. The primary value of the note is restricted to the information that the matter of the particular topic is identical in language, in the two or more Puranas, that *one* of them has copied from *the other*, or both have copied from a third source.

It should also be pointed out that, even after some reliable data are obtained in this line, it would be hazardous to attempt to fix the priority in time of composition as between two or more Puranas, on the basis of such results. For, there is always the possibility, and often the probability, that the Purana into which some matter is transcribed from another Purana was really anterior in time in its origin, but that the copy in question was an interpolation of a later period. The probable period of each Purana must therefore be fixed, if possible, on other data and other considerations.

The edition of the Skanda Purana referred to in the following notes, is the excellent copy published in seven volumes by Kshemaraja Srikrishnadāsa Śréshthin of Bombay. So also the Matsyapurana. The Padma copy is the publication of the Anandasrama of Poona in four volumes.

Transcriptions, Repetitions, or Copies.

(1) Skandam, Vol. II, Book IV, chapters 14 to 28, same as in the Padmam, word for word and verse for verse. Chapters begin and end in identical language. Interlocutors same. These chapters comprise जालन्धरोपाख्यानम्, कलहोपाख्यानम् and चोलराजोपाख्यानम्.

It transpires that the first verse of जालन्धरोपाख्यानम् in both Puranas refers to the previous chapter as having treated of ऊर्जमाहात्म्यम् but this sequence does not appear to be the fact in the Skanda Purana. Possibly the Skanda chapters were borrowed from the Padmam.

(2) Skandam, Vol. II, B. IV, chapters 29 and 30. The first verse of chapter 29 is the same as the first of Padmam, Vol. IV, chapter 114. The two Skanda chapters 29 and 30 are epitomised from Padma chapters 115, 116 and 117 by leaving out some verses and repeating the rest. It is clear the Skanda text here is copied from Padmam by an Āsvāsāntha verse occurring in the middle of chapter 29, Skanda.

(3) Skandam, Vol. II, B. IV, chapter 13. सत्यभामापूर्वजन्मवृत्तान्तम्, etc., has been extracted entirely from Padmam, Vol, IV, chapters 90 to 93. The Skandam retains 54 verses out of 126 of the Padmam. That the original is the Padmam is clear from a comparison of the texts. Interlocutors same.

(4) Skandam, Vol. II, Book IV, chapter 34, repeated from Padmam, Vol. IV, chapter 97. Verses rearranged. Interlocutors same. Last Vrittam of the Padmam paraphrased into an Anustubh in the Skandam.

(5) Skandam, Vol I, Book I, chapter 33.

Padmam, Vol. IV, chapter 147. The Padma text has adopted this chapter from Skandam. The episode in Skandam occupies 63 verses. That in Padmam 47. About 16 verses left out and the remaining repeated from Skandam.

In both, the chapters are continued according to the context in each.

(6) Skandam, Vol. II, Book IV, chapter 12.

Padmam, Vol. IV, 47 :—a few verses common.

(7) Skandam, Vol II, Book IV, chapter 32, and a portion of chapter 33, are repeated in the Padmam, Vol. IV, chapter 25, with this difference that a portion of chapter 33 of Skanda appears as the first portion of Padmam, chapter 125 and that a portion of chapter 32 of Skanda appears as the second portion of Padmam, chapter 125. There is a third portion in Padmam 125, not found in Skandam here and a portion of Skandam 33, not found in Padmam.

(8) Skandam, Vol. V, chapter 3 and a little of 4.

Padmam, Vol. III, chapter 14, रक्तजस्वेदज Episode; chapter 3, and 7 verses of chapter 4 of Skandam repeated in Padmam, chapter 14, which is very long and deals with other matters also.

(9) पृथूपाख्यानम् Skandam, Vol. VI, chapter 336; Padmam, Vol. 1, chapters 27 and 28. The account in the Skandam closely follows Padmam which is more elaborate. Several verses common. Several left out from Skandam. Rest paraphrased.

(10) Skandam, Vol. VII, chapter 166. सावित्रीसत्यवत्युपाख्यानम् copied into the Mahabharata, more verses added in the Bharata.

(11) Skandam, Vol. V, Book III, chapter 21 *et seq*; Padmam नर्मदाखण्डम् many verses in common. त्रिपुरोपाख्यानम्, chaps. 26 to 28, Skandam:— Several verses appear in Padmam which is briefer (Vol. I, chapter 14 and 15). *Note.*—The Skanda version is fuller and more desirable.

(12) Skandam, Vol. V, Book III, chapter 29. A few verses of this repeated in Padmam, Book I, chapter 16.

(13) It appears that the Narmada Khandam of Padmam is abridged from the Rēva Khandam (Vol. V. Book III) of Skandam.

(14) Mahabharata, Book I, chapter 116, (about Mandavya) is copied from Skandam, Vol. V, Book III, chapter 198.

(15) The 108 names and seats of the Devi, *vide* Skandam, Vol. V, Book III, chapter 198, are repeated in the same form in the Matsya Purana.

Padma and Matsya Copies.

Matsya, chaps. 5 and 6 ...	Copied in Padmam	Vol.	3,	chap.	6
,, ,, 7	,,	,,	3,	,,	7
Matsya, chaps. 8 to 12 and about 9 verses in chapter 13 ...	,,	,,	3,	,,	8
Matsya, chaps. 14 to 17 ...	,,	,,	3,	,,	9
,, ,, 18 to 21 ...	,,	,,	3,	,,	10
,, ,, 22 ...	,,	,,	3,	,,	11
(A few of Matsya verses left out; a few original verses found in Padmam.)					
Matsya, chap. 23 and the first 54 verses of 24 ...	,,	,,	3,	,,	12
Matsya, chap. 43, from 6th verse to end	,,	,,	3,	,,	,,
Matsya, chap. 44 from 14th verse to end; chap. 45, chap. 46, chap. 47 from 1 to 127 verses, and again from 168 to 181 ...	,,	,,	3,	,,	13

Matsya, from chaps. 55 to 60, inclusive	Copied in Padmam	Vol.	3, chap.	24
Matsya, from chaps. 61 to 65, except as to a few verses of chaps. 64 and 65 left out ...	,,	,,	3, ,,	22
Matsya, chaps. 69 and 70 ...	,,	,,	3, ,,	23
,, ,, 71 and 72 ...	,,	,,	3, ,,	24
,, ,, 73 to 92 ...	,,	,,	3, ,,	21
,, ,, 100 to 102 ...	,,	,,	3, ,,	20
,, ,, 103 ...	,,	,,	1, ,,	40
,, ,, 104 ...	,,	,,	1, ,,	41
,, ,, 105 ...	,,	,,	1, ,,	42
,, ,, 106 ...	,,	,,	1, ,,	43
,, ,, 107 ...	,,	,,	1, ,,	44
,, ,, 108 ...	,,	,,	1, ,,	45
,, ,, 109 ...	,,	,,	1, ,,	46
,, ,, 110 ...	,,	,,	1, ,,	47
Matsya, chaps. 112, except as to a few verses at end left out ...	,,	,,	1, ,,	48
Matsya, chaps. 113/114 consist of excerpts in some disorder taken from Padmam, which here is briefer ...	,,	,,	1, ,,	3/4/5/6
Matsya, chap, 121/122; several verses common with ...	,,	,,	,, ,,	,,
Matsya, chap. 146, from verse 41 to end of that chapter; chaps. 147, 148, 149. [About तारक: Taraka. In places the Padma version is briefer. Some Matsya verses left out. Some varied]	,,	,,	3, ,,	39
(Copied closely in Skandam)				
Matsya, chap. 150 except a few verses included in ...	,,	,,	3, ,,	39
(But all the verses up to No. 50 repeated in Skandam. From the 51st to 93rd, bulk of the verses repeated in Skandam. From 94th down to end of chapter closely copied in Skanda. The whole chapter in Matsya comprises 243 verses.)				

Matsya, chaps. 151-152-153. (Repeated in Skandam with occasional variations and addition of extra original verses.) These chapters left out in Padmam except closing verses of chap. 153, *i.e.*, slokas 222 to 229.	Copies in Padmam ,,	Vol. 3, chap. 39 ,, ,, ,, ,,
Matsya, chap. 154.		
The bulk of the verses from 1 to 31 ...	,,	,, ,, ,, 40
From sloka 32 to 444, Padma copy is close, except as to a few verses left out. From 445 to 486 left out from the Padma copy. From 486 to end, that is 588, Padma copy continues. The original and the copy on this particular topic both end here.	,,	,, ,, ,, 40
(The bulk of the verses from 1 to 31 not copied in the Skandam which has its own matter up to 45th verse. From there the Skanda copy is resumed.)		

Note.—In the three instances collated next above, it is a ***common copy between the Matsya, Padma, and Skanda Puranas.***

Matsya, chaps. 161 and 162 (except a few verses at close)	Vol.	3,	chap.	42
,, ,, 163 from verse 25 to end	,,	,,	,,	,,
,, ,, 164 to 167 and 168	,,	,,	,,	36
,, ,, 169 to 173	,,	,,	,,	37
,, ,, 174 to 178	,,	,,	,,	38
,, ,, 186 to 194 (except 1st 7 verses in 186) Padmam.	,,	1	,,	13 to 21

Note.—So far as at present known to this writer, 208 out of 520 Folio pages of Matsyam repeated in the Padmam.

Narasimha Puranam and Padmam.

Narasimha Puranam, chap. 1	Much of this chapter *Repeated in Padmam* up to verse 35 and from there closely to end	Vol. 1, chap. 1 & 2
,, ,, 2	Several verses	,, 3, ,, 3
,, ,, 3	Most of the verses	,, 3, ,, 3
,, ,, 4	Several verses	,, 3, ,, 3

Narasimha text— betrays copy from Padmam.	chap. 64 from 8th verse to 60	Vol. 4, chap. 81
	Some verses between 61 to 95 ...	,, 4, ,, 81
	And again from 96 to end	,, ,, ,, ,,

Matsya Repeated in the Mahabharata.

ययात्युपाख्यानम्, from verse 53 of chap. 24 of Matsyam to end of chap. 42 of Matsya, transcribed into the Bharata, Book I, chaps. 69 to 87, chapter for chapter. Some extra verses added in the Bharata in almost every chapter about 23½ pp. of Matsya copied into the Bharata.

Padma Repeated in the Mahabharata.

(1)	Chap. 81 of Vol. III, *i.e.*, Vana Parva of Bharata (Calcutta edition) ...	Padmam, Vol. I. Chap. 10
	,, 82 up to 40 verses	,, 11
	,, 82 from 40 to 52	,, 12
	,, 82 from 52 to 88	,, 24
	,, 82 from 88 to end	,, 25 to end.
	,, 83 from 1 to 110	,, 26
	,, 83 from 111 to end	,, 27
	,, 84 ,, 1 to 34 verses ...	,, 28
	,, 84 ,, 35 to 81 ...	,, 32
	,, 84 ,, 82 to end ...	,, 38
	,, 85	,, whole 39
(2)	Chaps. 4 to 12 of Vol. VI, Bhishma Parva Geography... ...	Chapters 3 to 9.

(3) अगस्त्योपाख्यानम्, chapters, 100-105 and 2 verses of 106 of Calcutta edition, Bharata, copied from Padma.

(4) The Bharata, Book 13, chap. 98 (अन्नदानप्रशंसा), copied with occasional transpositions of words from Padma, Vol. 4, chap. 27.

Note.—Bharata, Book 13, chap. 98 is again copied in the same book in chap. 235.

(5) Padma. Vol. IV, chap. 28.

Verses 1 to 4 reappear in the Bharata, Book 13, chap. 100 (Dravida copy).

Verses 5 to 19 reappear in chap. 93 Bharata (Dravida copy).

The Ramayana and the Mahabharata.

The description of the actual rite of the Aswamedha in the Mahabharata,

Book 14, was copied from the corresponding passages of the Ramayana. The Bharata specialist was evidently pressed for time. He appropriated the Ramayana matter, but had recourse to a trick, which is as amusing as it is paltry.

Sanskrit being a highly inflexional language, the position of the words in a sentence does not alter the sense of the passage, and there is hardly anything like syntactical regulation. The Bharata writer of the Aswamedha portion, re-arranged the words of several of the Ramayana slokas in such a way as to put the readers off the scent and manufactured his Aswamedha all right.

The Uttararamayana.

A late fabrication. Contains some matter copied from Narasimha Purana, some from Padma Purana, etc.

To make a comparative study of the Puranas, to determine their proper place in Sanskrit literature, and to extract from them whatever may be of permanent value, it is necessary to form a school of Pundits working under systematised supervision. Every Purana and Upa-Purana requires to be carefully and accurately indexed.

Next after that, a common concordance for all these Puranas would have to be constructed as preparatory to further study. It is not until then that we can obtain tangible results in this branch of research. We shall then know how much of these books is genuine, how much is spurious, how much should be preserved as valuable, and how much can be suffered to perish, without detriment to the advancement of knowledge.

It is a work that would require a large monetary endowment; but the money would be well spent and the labour well bestowed. The task would, when cheerily taken in hand and duly brought to a close, redound to the glory of the prince or nobleman on whom the grace may descend.

REVIEWS.

"Life and Times of Chalukya Vikramaditya VI" (in Tamil)

BY A. V. VENKATARAMA AYYAR, ESQ., M.A., L.T.,

Assistant Lecturer in History, Queen Mary's College for Women, Madras. [*Re. 1.*]

IN this work the author has digested the materials scattered over nearly thirty-eight different sources, as enumerated in the list of books consulted, concerning one of the very ill-lighted periods of South Indian history and interpreted them as we should expect from a scholar of the author's culture and patient industry. What most appeals to the reader is its Tamil garb. Those going through the periodical lists of new publications registered in the several provinces that appear in the several Government Gazettes must be painfully aware of the paucity of similar efforts in the vernacular and though to English readers the addition of maps, charts, genealogical tables and such other devices for the better understanding of the subject is a familiar feature, they are welcome innovations in the field of vernacular publications, and to present-day readers are almost indispensable.

The study of the reign of this great Chalukya king is important as filling a gap in the history of South India in the pre-Muhammadan period, about which European orientalists are not tired to note the paucity of materials or the comparative unimportance of that which they have recovered. But a perusal of the brochure under notice will show full well that this king's reign was neither uneventful nor unimportant. It gives us an idea, a fairly clear idea, of the character of a purely Indian administration of the country prior to the introduction of foreign influence into it.

The period covered by the reign of this prince (1076 to 1127) corresponds approximately with the time of the labours of the great Vaishnavite reformer of South India Sri Ramanuja who lived from 1017 to 1137 and as such must be of interest as affording an insight into the condition of the country and manners of the people of that time. In that light the fifth or the last chapter of the book affords very inspiring reading.

That the dry bones of archæology which was, till recently, and is even now very often, employed in the amiable task of conjectural fixing of problematic chronologies should have been made to yield a vivid and readable picture of the state of the country, its people and its government at this period is a service for which all true lovers of the real Indian History should thank the author. But we, in the Kannada country, of which Mysore is at present at any rate the crest-jewel, cannot avoid a regret that this account was not written in Kannada by a Kannada man as this sovereign's greatness reflects the glory of the Kannada country.

The author's style is literary without pedantry. It is easy, yet dignified. We commend the work for the acceptance of the Tamil reading public with a hope that the author will give us more such pictures of our past national life which we are sure was neither tame nor inglorious.

B. R.

Annals of the Mysore Royal Family.

WE beg to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of the two volumes in Kannada of the Annals of the Mysore Royal Family presented to the Society by the courtesy of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore. Of the two volumes, Vol. I was published in 1916 and contains the important events of history connected with each of the ruling monarchs of the Royal Family of Mysore from the time of the founder of the family in A.D. 1371 down to the overthrow of Tippu Sultan and the installation of His Highness the Maharaja Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur III in A.D. 1799. The Annals are based on materials recorded in a Kannada manuscript written about the middle of the 19th century by order of His Highness and deposited in the Palace Library.

The book is written in a popular and attractive style, the language being chaste and intelligible. The outstanding events of the reign of each king are so well brought out that their perusal not only rouses curiosity and enthusiasm but also patriotism and pride. There are twelve chapters in the book, each containing the leading events of each king. At the commencement of each chapter the date of the birth and installation of each king, the names of his consorts and of the issues he had by them are given which serve as a good introduction to the subject. The entire volume is full of information so interesting and inspiring that every Mysorean that reads it is fired with a genuine pride in the glorious achievements of the scions of the Mysore Royal House and is animated by a lively sense of patriotism for the country of his birth that can boast of such a brilliant record. Though Mysore is such a compact little State as compared with the vast continent of India that surrounds it, yet it is astonishing how its historical vicissitudes closely follow those operating on the vaster area with evolutions characteristic of national growth and decay.

Deeds of chivalry and valour, acts of benevolence and piety, policies and problems dictated by far-seeing statesmanship and deep administrative insight and events that lead up to culminating prosperity on the one hand and that bring down to harrowing adversity on the other are as striking in the history of the Mysore kings as they are of emperors and rulers of the Indian Empire. Mysore history is not a history of dull and dead uniformity but is full of varied changes making it as interesting as that of any other country.

The conspicuous examples that have contributed largely to this great historical tradition of Mysore are those of Yadurayar, the founder of the royal family, of

Raja Wadiyar, Ranadhira Kanteerava Narasaraja Wadiyar, Chikkadevaraja Wadiyar and Krishnaraja Wadiyar III. But above all these stands the shining example of devotion, self-sacrifice, foresight, courage and will of Maharani Lakshmammanniavaru, whose masterly policy restored Mysore back to its ancient rulers and made it possible for us to enjoy the blessings of the rule of their successors at the present time.

Volume II of the Annals was published last year and follows the style and tenor of its companion volume. It gives a rousing picture of the wonderful forbearance, suffering and passive heroism displayed by this Maharani who was the saviour of Mysore in its direst hour of need and is replete with every detail of the pious deeds of the sage-like king, His Highness Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur III and of the administrative work of the British Commission that ruled Mysore from A.D. 1831 to A.D. 1881. Reference is also made with becoming gratitude to that high minded British justice that gave back Mysore to the descendants of its ancestral rulers in A.D. 1799 and that prevailed again against odds in A.D. 1881.

The volumes before us are veritable mines of information and give a lucid and succinct account of the historical events of Mysore up to the Installation of His Highness Sri Chamarajendra Wadiyar Bahadur, the late lamented father of our present beloved Maharaja, His Highness Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur IV. No Mysorean can fail to read them with sustained pride and interest from cover to cover and all Kannada knowing people will find them not only edifying historically but also informing as standard literature.

Rajakaryaprasakta Mr. B. Ramakrishna Rao, the retired Palace Controller, has edited the volumes and a more capable, loyal and patriotic gentleman could hardly have been appropriately selected for the task. He has taken considerable pains in ransacking the libraries of the Palace and the Government and piecing the necessarily fragmentary information he could glean from them with other available sources and presenting us such a readable historical account of Mysore. As a great, loyal and devoted servant of His Highness the Maharaja, he has now the pride and consolation of having earned the approbation of his royal master by publishing these books. In addition, he has also the satisfaction of bringing out a work that will stand as a monument to his devoted service to his king and country.

The volumes are very neatly printed at the Government Branch Press at Mysore with fifteen illustrations in Vol. II.

B. P.

Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University—Vol. IX.

THE Journal before us maintains the high level set by its predecessors in the field of Indian research. Prominent amongst the articles in this issue are "Ancient India" by Professor Sylvain Levi and "The Expressiveness of Indian

Art" by Dr. Stella Kramrisch. Those of us who have had the opportunity of hearing them in the Daly Memorial Hall will gladly welcome these papers which make very instructive reading. Professor Levi rightly points out how it is necessary for the West and the East to co-operate with each other for their mutual good. While paying a just homage to the valuable part played by India in the past, the professor unhesitatingly invites the reader's attention as to how India has suffered in the past by isolation. As regards the paper on Indian Art, it is impossible in this short review to touch upon the several phases of the subject dealt with by Dr. Stella. Beginning with a preliminary survey of the development of art in general, the learned doctor explains the distinctive characteristics of Indian art and the meaning which the Indian artist conveys by his representations. Then come in order the relation of creative art to nature, influence of myths over the development of forms, space, rhythm and evolution in Indian art.

The other papers in the Journal are not less interesting and instructive. An attempt is made by Dr. Hemachandra Rayachaudhuri to draw up an outline of the political history of India from the accession of Parikshit to the coronation of Bimbisara. The sources relied on are the Vedas, the Brahmanas and the Upanishads. In view of the fact that among Hindus it is the practice for one's descendants to be named after him, it is doubtful if it is possible to identify the particular personages and build up a history on a reference to the mere mention of the names in the works relied on. But let us hope that we will be nearer the truth than before by the lead given in this paper. We invite also the particular attention of the readers to Mr. B. N. Bhattacharya's "A Brief Survey of Sahitya Shaṣtra" which deserves serious study. The other articles by Dr. Sushil Kumar De and Messrs. Bruce Hannah and Aroon Sen are examples of earnest and scholarly endeavour.

T.S.

Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle.

For the year ending 31st March 1921.

THE report is a record of satisfactory work in spite of the frequent changes in the personnel of officers of the Department. The Superintendent was able to spend on tour 176 days in the year and to inspect some of the monuments in the Ahmadnagar District which had not been visited before. The results of the exploration work conducted in the course of these tours are given in part IV which is well worth study. Under original research, we are told that the Superintendent's article on the comparison of the letters of the Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela and the Nanaghat inscription of Queen Nayanika was completed and will be published in the Memoirs of the Archæological

Survey of India. We eagerly look forward to this promised publication as also the monograph on the monuments of the ancient Chedi country for which materials are stated to have been discovered during the recent tours. It is observed that the grant of the Government of India for conservation work has fallen down by Rs. 8,500. We cannot but too strongly emphasize the importance of the work of conservation of ancient monuments which is the one and the only way of preserving ancient art intact. We hope the Government of India will be able to make a more liberal grant during the coming years when they will not have the necessity of facing deficit budgets under improved conditions.

T.S.

"South Indian Shrines".

BY P. V. JAGADISA AYYAR, ESQ.

THE book before us is an enlarged and revised edition of a book under the same title published some time ago by the same author. We need not say that the author has taken great trouble in bringing together the scattered *Sthalapuranas* of the several shrines. The present edition is of particular interest to the people of Mysore as, unlike its predecessor, it deals with some of the important shrines and archaic temples in Mysore. The book will serve as a valuable guide to the European tourists towards a better understanding of Hindu ideals.

Considering the number of plates used and the bulk of the book, its price, *viz.*, Rs. 6 a copy is very moderate. Publishers are Vest & Co., Madras.

T.S.

Subscriptions and Donations received during the quarter ending March 1923.

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P. S. Govinda Rao, Mysore	XIII	3	0	0
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M. S. Ramachar, Kolar	,,	3	0	0

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C. Krishnamurthy, Bangalore ..	,, ..	5	0	0
H. V. Narayana Rao, Bangalore ..	,, ..	5	0	0

Books presented or purchased during the quarter ending 31st March 1923.

The Government of Mysore, (Muzrai Department)—

Sacred Books of the East, Vols. 1 to 9, 11, 12, 15, 16, 18, 20, 21, 23 to 30, 32 to 50.
Sri Ramachandra by Annie Besant.
The Great War by Annie Besant.
The Elements of Church History by the Rev. B. Rice.
Early Christianity by S. B. Slack, M.A.
The Varieties of Religious Experience by William James.

The Chief Secretary to the Government of Mysore—

State Administration Report for 1921-22.

Census Superintendent in Mysore—

Census Report of Mysore, 1921, Parts I and II.

The Palace, Mysore—

Annals of Mysore, Parts I and II.
Mysore State Papers, Parts I, II and IV.

The Registrar, Calcutta University—

Report of the Registration Fee Committee.
Report of the Government Grant Committee.
Minutes of the Senate Meeting of the Calcutta University held on 18th November and 22nd December 1922.
Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, Vol. IX.

The Registrar, Madras University—

University Calendar for 1923, Vol. I.

Superintendent of Archaeology, Gwalior—

Gwalior Fort Album.

Superintendent of Archaeology, Trivandrum—

Travancore Archæological Series, Vol. III, Part I. Stone and Copperplate Inscriptions of Travancore with 26 plates by K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar, B.A.

Superintendent of Archaeology, Western Circle, Poona—

Progress Report of the Archæological Department, Western Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1921.

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Kempe Gowda I

(Founder of Bangalore)

As carved on a wall in the Ulsoor Temple

Kempe Gowda II

Portrait Statue in the Sivaganga Temple

Kempe Gowda III

As carved on a Pillar in a Pavilion attached to the Somesvara Temple at Magadi